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# **NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL**

**MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA**

## **THESIS**

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: AN ALTERNATIVE DIPLOMACY  
IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ISSUES. GREEK PUBLIC  
DIPLOMACY: CAPABILITIES AND PERSPECTIVES**

by

Sotirios Petropoulos

June 2011

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Zachary Shore  
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**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: AN ALTERNATIVE DIPLOMACY IN FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS' ISSUES. GREEK PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: CAPABILITIES AND  
PERSPECTIVES**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES  
(DEFENSE DECISION-MAKING AND PLANNING)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL  
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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis will provide the theoretical frame and some critical points regarding Public Diplomacy (PD), in conjunction with the target addressed and the results achieved by some developed countries through this kind of diplomacy. It will prove that PD is one of the most important tools for a successful foreign policy, having as its primary objective to inform, engage, and build mutual relations with foreign public opinion. In addition to that, this research paper will focus on Greece as a case study of PD by examining its level of effectiveness, capabilities, and perspectives. The final outcome is expected to be a proposed model of foreign policy, applicable to other small-sized countries.



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# **I. INTRODUCTION**

## **A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

Communication with foreign citizens and the engagement of public opinion is, today, one of the vital elements of foreign policy. This is not a new phenomenon, but it has recently taken on a new importance due to a series of factors emerging from globalization, the speed of information exchange, the spreading of democracy, and the increasing participation of new, nongovernmental actors (NGOs) in decision-making processes concerning foreign policy. As a consequence, the political value of public opinion has also increased significantly as far as governments are concerned. Therefore, Public Diplomacy (PD) has emerged as the public face or alternative version of traditional diplomacy.

This research paper will provide the theoretical frame and some critical points regarding PD, in conjunction with the target addressed and the results achieved by some developed countries through this kind of diplomacy. It will prove that PD is one of the most important tools of a successful foreign policy, having as a primary objective to inform, engage, and build mutual relations with foreign public opinion. Therefore the first major question to be answered is:

- Is PD an effective tool in foreign affairs issues?

This research paper will focus on Greece as a case study of PD by examining its level of effectiveness, capabilities, and perspectives. Thus, the final outcome is expected to be the answer to the second major question:

- Is Greek PD effective, and is it a stabilizing agent for the Balkan region?

## **B. IMPORTANCE**

It is generally acknowledged that every country within an “anarchic” universe intends to enhance its presence on the international stage in order to promote, as effectively as it can, its national interests and thus maximize its power. From a realistic approach, anarchy is governed by fear; and, in this never-ending power game, war is the probable outcome in many cases. Thucydides characterized war as the “teacher of

violence,”<sup>1</sup> and claimed that states are conditioned to be prepared for this. The “tools” and “weapons” used by countries have been explained by existing International Relations theories and are based on factors such as balance of power, competition, and security dilemmas. For countries, gaining power seems to be the intended purpose; and power balance, where and if achieved, is expected to lead to a secure and stable environment, at least for some time. More than four centuries ago, Niccolo Machiavelli advised princes in Italy that it was more important to be feared than to be loved.<sup>2</sup> World politics is totally conterminous with power and especially hard power.

On the contrary, the nature of power is changing. A significant number of professionals in foreign affairs admit hard power as the only route to success. But is this approach correct? What do the related lessons learned indicate? Is threatening, by military force or economic sanctions, the only way to make our competitors, or just our neighbors, change their behavior or to influence their decisions? The following fragment of an interview given by Hillary Clinton, answers the latter speculation: “We must use what has been called smart power: the full range of tools at our disposal—diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural—picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation.”<sup>3</sup>

Hence, the importance of this research paper is the presentation of an alternative way of “doing” politics. This alternative way is based on a lesser known power, “smart power,” and more particularly on a specific part of it, which is PD. Paradoxically, even though the subject of this thesis seems to be *terra incognita* for the majority of people or for a large number of professionals, the mechanisms which PD uses and the efficacy that it provides are being commonly used by technocrats in the competitive environment of the global market.

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<sup>1</sup> Athanasios Platias, *International Relations and Strategy in Thucydides*, (Athens: Estia, 2007). 65.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 32.

<sup>3</sup> Department of Defense, “Senators Salute National Guard’s Value,” 18 March 2010, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/122788.pdf>.

Additionally, the uniqueness of the topic is that PD is dependent on the modern era's characteristics. For instance, it is based on high-end technology and uses all the modern means of communication. Also, terms such as *democratization*, *globalization* and *constructivism* are fully compatible with PD's techniques. In the current globalized world, nations are connected to each other through trade and economics. Hence, a country is more than just a geographical territory. Nowadays a nation can also be seen as a global trademark—as a brand. Therefore, the new term *nation branding* is an intrinsic communication strategy within the field of PD and deals with the improvement of a nation's reputation in other countries.

The main part of this thesis will examine Greece and its public profile through public institutions, in other words, Greek nation branding. The importance of this attempt is the intended outcome in the question: *Does Greece, through PD, meet the requirements to be the stabilizing factor in the unstable context of the Balkans?* The positive and negative points of Greek PD will formulate a model of PD. This model will be proposed, as an alternative “tool” of diplomacy, to small-sized countries or new ones, such as those that emerged from the former Soviet Union or former Yugoslavia. The re-shaping of the International System demands a lot of work from leaders, politicians, policy makers, and diplomats. The challenge of the topic is to add another useful “tool” in this complicated attempt at world politics.

## **C. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The following paragraphs are an attempt at presenting the highlights of the term *nation branding*. The Chronological Overview will describe the evolutionary path of PD, giving emphasis to the modifications that occurred due to the changing political environment and to increased capabilities of communication media. Afterwards, the major issues that have appeared will be examined. Such thematic issues will include the debates over the relationship between propaganda and PD, the clash between political and cultural components of PD, the degree of integration of PD within foreign policy, and

the efficacy of PD. A short reference, also, to the PD of small-sized countries cannot be excluded. This part will close with a brief presentation of the Greek literature, emphasizing the lack of related bibliography.

## **1. Chronological Overview**

The term *Public Diplomacy* was used for the first time in 1965<sup>4</sup> by Gullion.<sup>5</sup> Attempting an exploration of the term through literature, we find the first notion of PD in the 1960s. John Lee, a journalism professor, in his book, *The Diplomatic Persuaders: New Role of the Mass Media in International Relations* (1968)<sup>6</sup>, emphasizes the increasing role of the people-to-people dialogue; he doubts the efficacy of communication between governments and concludes that governments had not recognized the significant impact of PD<sup>7</sup>. Another interesting book of that period, which reflects the initial speculation associated with the new form of diplomacy, is that of Arthur Hoffman, *The International Communication and the New Diplomacy* (1968), in which the author underlines the necessity of a new type of diplomacy due to the revolution of mass communications.

In the late 1970s, the increased tension in Soviet-U.S. relations was translated into a high interest in the field of PD. Jarol B. Manheim, in his book *Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy* (1994)<sup>8</sup>, points out that U.S. foreign policy in that period had adopted the following as the most beneficial tactic: “*relatively straightforward efforts to*

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<sup>4</sup> “PD . . . deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications.” (Source: Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, “What is Public Diplomacy?”, 5 January 2008, <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm>).

<sup>5</sup> Gifford Malone, *Political Advocacy and Cultural Communication: Organizing the Nation’s Public Diplomacy*, (University Press of America, Jan 1988), 12.

<sup>6</sup> John Lee, *The Diplomatic Persuaders: New Role of the Mass Media in International Relations*, (Michigan: Krieger Pub Co, 1968).

<sup>7</sup> Stacy Glassgold, *Public Diplomacy: The Evolution in Literature Review*, (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, December 1, 2004) <http://www.uscpdiplomacy.org/pdfs/Stacy>.

<sup>8</sup> Jarol B. Manheim, *Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

*disseminate information that accorded to the U.S. viewpoint to the largest possible audience in the greatest number of countries, while keeping a bit of a wary eye on those targeting their efforts.”* In 1976, another author, David M. Abshire,<sup>9</sup> involved international broadcasting in the PD process. He analyzed the importance of international broadcasting in the shadow of the Cold War and he emphasized the essential role that it plays.

Glen Fisher, one decade later, added one more important element in the study of PD. He advocated that government actions must be increasingly responsive to the views and judgments of their people, particularly as media services make their impact and as public groups articulate their concerns more effectively.<sup>10</sup> Fisher also provided the significance of public opinion and nonstate actors as a key element in decision-making processes. He says characteristically that “the stream of nongovernmental transnational linkages and activities has also become part of the international relations process.”<sup>11</sup>

In the 1990s, rapid technology and communications developments brought a turnabout of the modern political view, which was until then based on hard power, to a post-modern political approach based on a system of images, reputation, and influence.<sup>12</sup> These changes, in conjunction with the spread of democracies, led to an increasing participation of citizens in the management of foreign affairs. This influenced, accordingly, traditional diplomacy. Since then, the diplomatic mission has acquired a new face, and one could maintain that the democratization of societies has led to the democratization of traditional diplomacy. *Soft Power* by J. S. Nye<sup>13</sup> is the inspirational book that provided the basis of an alternative way of thinking regarding the use of power.

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<sup>9</sup> David Abshire, *International Broadcasting: A New Dimension of Western Diplomacy*, (Beverly Hills: Stage, 1976).

<sup>10</sup> Glen Fisher, *The Role of Culture and Perceptions in International Relations*, (Yarmouth Maine: Intercultural Press, 1988), 131.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>12</sup> Jozef Batora, *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States: Norway and Canada* (Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, March 2005), 1.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

The events of 9/11 and the War on Terrorism brought PD and international broadcasting to the forefront of foreign policy. Then, some scholars declared the failure of U.S. PD as anti-Americanism reached its zenith; however, some others perceived that period as a great challenge for PD to play a prominent role. Kurt Campbell in *To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign against Terrorism* underlines that the success of foreign policy is “inexorably linked to America’s ability to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics.”<sup>14</sup>

## **2. Major Issues and Debates That Have Emerged From PD**

### ***a. Propaganda vs. PD***

One of the major debates that literature provides is the distinction between PD and propaganda. Richard Holbrooke, in his article *Get the Message Out*<sup>15</sup>, states: “Call it PD, or public affairs, or psychological warfare, or—if you want to be blunt—propaganda.” However, David M. Abshire, trying to provide a reliable explanation, focuses on the word manipulation as the key to defining the distinction between the two terms. In other words, propaganda, to him, is directly linked to the manipulation of the public while concealing the real objectives and purposes.<sup>16</sup> Also, Allen Hansen says that PD is close to white propaganda but differentiates the terms, saying that U.S. PD leaders “have learned that their programs and activities must be honest to be credible.”<sup>17</sup>

### ***b. Political Advocacy Vs. Cultural Communication***

The content of the debate deals with the duality of international broadcasting: political and cultural programming. Some scholars defend the view that both forms of broadcasting are distinct, whereas another school of thought supports that this line is not easily recognizable. The term *political advocacy* was introduced by

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<sup>14</sup> Kurt Campbell and Michell Flournoy, *To Prevail: An American Strategy For the Campaign against Terrorism*, (Washington D.C.: CSIS Press, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Richard Holbrooke, “Get the Message Out”, *Washington Post*, October, 28, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Stacy Glassgold, *Public Diplomacy: The Evolution in Literature Review*, (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, December 1, 2004) <http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/Stacy> .

<sup>17</sup> Allen C. Hansen, *USIA: Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, (New York: Praeger, 1989).

Malone,<sup>18</sup> who drew a clear, distinct line and separated PD into a political side (political advocacy) and a cultural side (cultural communication). According to Malone, both sides serve the national interests, but with a different approach and identity. Political advocacy is formed for the sake of a specific policy interest, whereas cultural communication, having a long-term character, intends to make foreign policy better understood. The author continues, arguing that possible misunderstandings lead to dysfunctions of PD.

On the other side, Abshire<sup>19</sup> represents the school that believes that the line between the two ingredients of PD is not distinct and that the separation is not feasible. For instance, Abshire claims that a cultural broadcast program does not seek only admiration, but its deeper essence conceals a type of coercion and conviction.<sup>20</sup> Other scholars, such as K. L. Adelman,<sup>21</sup> defend this view and bring as an example the Voice of America (VOA). Adelman argues that VOA has a purely political attitude rather than a cultural exchange profile.<sup>22</sup>

### *c. Integration Into Foreign Policy*

Another major issue in the PD field is linked to the relationship between PD and foreign policy. This theme will also be explored in the forefront of this essay, as it constitutes a critical question for Greece and its policy in the Balkans. Very interestingly, Adelman argues that understanding and respecting the foreign public and culture are prerequisites for a successful PD.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Gifford Malone, *Political Advocacy and Cultural Communication: Organizing the Nation's Public Diplomacy*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> David Abshire, *International Broadcasting: A New Dimension of Western Diplomacy*, (Beverly Hills, CA: Stage, 1976).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>21</sup> K. L. Adelman, "Speaking of America; Public Diplomacy in Our Time," *Foreign Affairs* 59:913-936, 1981.

<sup>22</sup> Stacy Glassgold, *Public Diplomacy: The Evolution in Literature Review*, (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, December 1, 2004), 33, <http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/Stacy>.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.



Malone<sup>24</sup> supports the importance of PD and advises policy makers to take PD into account. Moreover, he proposes an international cultural agency within the State Department in order to increase the credibility of PD's tools. This view is also illustrated by Gary D. Rawnsley,<sup>25</sup> who underlines the importance of PD integration into foreign policy and uses as an example the involvement of VOA in the foreign policy process after the Bay of Pigs invasion. Also, Rawnsley goes one step beyond, highlighting the significant contribution of mass media in the diplomatic process. He gives as an example the pivotal role of BBC in the foreign policy process.<sup>26</sup>

Another scholar, Christopher Ross, supports this integration, saying that a policy that cannot be explained clearly and understandably to many different audiences is not sustainable.<sup>27</sup> This phrase is directly linked to the tools of an effective PD, presented by J. Nye. As Nye defines in his book, there are three dimensions of an effective PD:<sup>28</sup> daily communication, strategic communication, and development of lasting relationships. These references will serve in measuring the effectiveness of Greece's PD.

#### *d. Efficacy*

The last issue that is considered a common source of debate is the definition of a successful PD. A clear-cut answer is provided by J. Nye<sup>29</sup> and is presented in the first chapter of the essay. However, the existence of various voices illustrates the importance of the issue. In particular, the core of the speculation is found in the existence or not of an objective index in measuring the effectiveness of PD.

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<sup>24</sup> Gifford Malone, *Political Advocacy and Cultural Communication: Organizing the Nation's Public Diplomacy*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 67.

<sup>25</sup> Gary D. Rawnsley, *Radio Diplomacy and Propaganda*, (New York: St. Martins Press, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Stacy Glassgold, *Public Diplomacy: The Evolution in Literature Review*, (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, December 1, 2004), 76, <http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/Stacy>.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 107–110.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

According to one school of thought, the impact of PD is immeasurable as its objectives depend on the most elusive of human acts—changing someone else’s mind.”<sup>30</sup> Another supporter of this opinion, Robert Fortner, deals with international radio broadcasting. He points out that PD is a focused, purposive activity whose impacts cannot be readily ascertained and whose audience cannot be totally and precisely known.<sup>31</sup> For them, PD is human activity that delivers a message whose receptivity cannot be easily evaluated.

On the other hand, scholars point out existing indicators that measure efficacy. For instance, John Brown<sup>32</sup> states that statistics and raw data substantiate what PD has accomplished, and he sets as an indicator the number of foreign visitors to an art exhibition. However, Brown links PD achievements to broader areas such as keeping the lines of communications open, and he points out that another component of efficacy is the continuous international dialogue.

*e. The PD of Small and Medium-Sized Countries*

Many scholars have expressed the view that the literature review on PD has been formulated through exploring the large countries’ PD.<sup>33</sup> Therefore the character of PD performed by small and medium states has not been examined properly.

Batora, using empirical evidence from Norway and Canada, explores the mechanism used by small countries in performing efficient PD. Batora expresses the idea that “for small and medium countries, PD represents an opportunity to gain influence and shape international agenda in ways that go beyond their limited hard power resources.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Wilson Dizard, *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency*, (Colorado:Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2004).

<sup>31</sup> Robert Fortnet, *Public Diplomacy and International Politics: The Symbolic Constructs of Summits and International Radio News*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994).

<sup>32</sup> John Brown, *The Purposes of Cross-Purposes of American Public Diplomacy*, (Chapel Hill, NC: American Diplomacy Publishers, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> Jojef Batora, *PD in Small and Medium-sized Countries*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, (Hague: Netherlands, Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, March 2005), 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

These words illustrate the major difference between these two types of PD. In this work, Batora also presents a list of other existing differences, whose main points are the following:

(1) It is easier for the major countries to be in the frontline of a globe issue than for the small ones. This condition gives credit to PD as the only existing platform for giving voice to the small countries.

(2) Mission is the second difference. The theory dictates that PD's most important objectives are explaining, exercising advocacy, and re-branding. However, in the case of a small country, the main effort is to capture attention.

(3) As a third difference, Batora<sup>35</sup> refers to the volume and breadth of messages and images. For instance, Norway as a small country has concentrated all of its efforts on a specific area, trying to promote its profile as an international peace-broker. Admittedly, its target seems to be achieved, but this was the only available resource to capture global attention. On the other hand, the U.S. has plenty of resources, giving it the luxury to use a large range of PD tools, such as cultural, financial, and athletic.

Another interesting point, outlined by Paul Rockower, is the association between *niche diplomacy* (ND)<sup>36</sup> and small-sized countries' PD. Rockower supports the notion that the small and medium states attempt to raise their PD profile by wedding their image to a certain cause as a way to magnify their influence within global civil society. This is the point at which the terms *PD* and *ND* are connected: they pursue the same target. As an example, Rockower uses Qatar, which “has recently fashioned public diplomacy niche for itself within global society as a conflict mediator *par excellence*.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Jojef Batora, *PD in Small and Medium-sized Countries*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, (Hague: Netherlands, Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, March 2005), 7.

<sup>36</sup> Gareth Evans, the former Australian foreign minister, defined niche diplomacy as: “concentrating resources in specific areas best able to generate returns worth having, rather than trying to cover the field”. (Cooper, 1997:5).

<sup>37</sup> Paul Rockower, “Qatar’s Public Diplomacy”, *PubD*, 599, December 12, 2008.

Mark McDowel is another scholar who provides a distinction and speaks about different kinds of PD depending on the size of the state. Very interestingly, he points out that a small country, by comparison to a large one, has a significant advantage. He states that “despite the larger government’s greater resources, the small country may be at an advantage because it can control its message.”<sup>38</sup> According to him, a large country has to struggle against “broadly held” stereotypes and a flood of economic, cultural, and various other types of information that make their management impossible and complex. On the other hand, a small country, having specific and, in many cases, more ambitious, goals, easily concentrates all its efforts on achieving them. He uses, as an example, the effect that the film *Borat* had on perceptions of Kazakhstan. Due to the lack of other images of Kazakhstan, one movie could provide an interesting image in the West.

Overall, the characteristics of PD that favor small countries led this essay to present Finland as a representative case.

### **3. Existing Literature About Greece’s PD**

The fact that the debate on PD has recently started in Greece (no earlier than 2005) leads to the ascertainment that the entries in the Greek bibliography on the subject are very scarce. Therefore, a source of related information will be discussion papers, publications concerning PD, and many World Wide Web sources regarding the fields of international relations, communications and media, political markets, and political science.

Additionally, an important source of information will be two specific publications of the Secretariat General of Communication-Secretariat General of Information, “About Brand Greece” and “About Greece,” which have been the main bibliographical sources dealing, so far, with the successful attempts of promoting Greece and the advantages of the country in the form of a current trade brand. Other material for this research is based on the proposals of the Greek Union of Press Attachés (ENAT) and on the conclusions of conferences held under the auspices of the Secretariat General of Communication. In

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<sup>38</sup> Mark McDowel, “Public Diplomacy at the Crossroads,” (Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, 2008).

addition, articles from the international and national press (*Washington Post*, *Kosmos Ependiti*, *Eleftherotypia*, *Kathimerini* & *Vima*) will be useful additional sources of information gathered for this research.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The abundance of related sources illustrates the high interest that PD enjoys among the circles of policy makers and diplomats. The major issues and debates analyzed above will be kept in mind throughout the current research paper, and the apparent lack of a Greek bibliography will be treated as an additional challenge.

#### **D. METHODOLOGY**

Methodology will be based on a survey of the existing literature, including both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the referenced bibliography as well as speeches and essays of key policy makers. The secondary sources will include, mainly, various media reports. In the research, although there are not many examples, the existing ones are distinctive, especially the examples regarding U.S. PD.

#### **E. THESIS OVERVIEW**

This thesis is structured in six chapters, including introduction and conclusion. Chapter I illustrates the theoretical background of PD, providing the existing tools and useful definitions regarding the meaning of propaganda, public relations, soft power, and nation branding.

Chapter II will present cases of PD policies that have been adopted by other countries. These references will enhance the basic argument of the thesis, providing a less theoretical and more tangible explanation for doing politics through smart power.

Chapter III will examine Greece as a brand, the image of Greece in the international system, and the existing advantages and disadvantages.

Chapter IV will examine the Greek foreign policy in the Balkans through a PD lens, seeking an answer to the speculation whether it is effective, as a stabilizing factor in the area. The main argument will be to discover the procedures through which Greece

can use PD in conjunction with its historic heritage and the strong cultural similarities among the peoples of the region to keep open doors and improve the chances for communication and negotiation within the Balkans.

Finally, the conclusion will include a model of PD applicable to other small-sized countries.

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## **II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PD**

### **A. CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF PD<sup>39</sup>**

During the recent decades, the technological progress in the field of information management has critically influenced the way in which governments define and implement their foreign policy. The traditional concept of diplomacy, having as its main objective to attract the preference and attention of foreign governments and to promote the national interests of the “sender”<sup>40</sup> country, has changed its form. The transition from the Cold War era to the era of globalization and the Information Age has changed the face of international relations, aiming, not only to attract the attention of foreign governments, but to draw attention to international public opinion as well. The worldwide rapid evolution of technology in the fields of information and communication and the increasing involvement of citizens in managing foreign policy generate new data on international relations and change the traditional forms of diplomatic bureaucracy.<sup>41</sup>

The spread of democracy, the revolution in telecommunication systems, the rise of new, nonstate actors, and the enhancement of civil society actors/agents, such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), have changed the way that national governments implement power and influence. Great restrictions have been placed on governments as people, demanding more reliable information, are not passive any more but have been transformed into independent observers and active participants.<sup>42</sup> Evan Potter has noted that public opinion is increasingly skeptical of the government; the public is demanding greater transparency from the governments and greater public participation in the

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<sup>39</sup> Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2005), 1.

<sup>40</sup> The country that uses PD.

<sup>41</sup> Constantinos Prokakis, *Communicative Diplomacy: The modernist aspect of foreign policy*, (Athens- Komotini: Sakoulas, 2005), 18–19.

<sup>42</sup> Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, (London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2002), 2–3.



formulation of policy. The governments can no longer ignore the challenges that arise from the contact with the people.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it is imperative that diplomacy must expand its limits and should not be implemented only by policy experts.

PD, which first appeared as a concept in the U.S. in 1965, is the "public face" of the traditional diplomacy. It is both a discrete and an integral part of this, and it is linked to the terms of *soft power* and *international relations*.<sup>44</sup> According to the definition that N. J Cull<sup>45</sup> gives, traditional diplomacy is the effort of an international actor (a government, a multinational organization, or a terrorist organization) to shape the international environment through an interactive engagement with another international actor, using dialogue as the primary technique. On the other hand, PD is the effort of an international actor to shape the international environment through the influence of the foreign public opinion. Another definition of PD, given by Malone, is the direct communication with foreign public opinion in an effort to influence the way of thinking, having as a final objective to influence the foreign governments.<sup>46</sup>

Therefore, PD is defined as the process of communication that a government develops within the international environment in order to make intelligible its ideas and ideals, institutions and culture, national goals, and current policies.<sup>47</sup> It is understandable that PD is also an expression of the *policy of prestige*,<sup>48</sup> whose main constituent is the international image and the reputation of a state. The classical definitions of PD emphasize the effort of a country to create a positive image in the international opinion

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<sup>43</sup> Evan H. Potter, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2002), 5.

<sup>44</sup> "PD . . . deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications." (source: <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm>).

<sup>45</sup> N. J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 5.

<sup>46</sup> Gifford Malone, *Managing PD*, op.cit.

<sup>47</sup> H. Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U.S. PD Overseas*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 3.

<sup>48</sup> Constantinos Prokakis, *Communicative Diplomacy: The modernist aspect of foreign policy*, (Athens- Komotini: Sakoulas, 2005), 9.

regarding policies, actions, and political and financial systems.<sup>49</sup> The essential target is to put some pressure on foreign governments in order to review or mitigate their negative attitude or to cultivate an existing positive one.<sup>50</sup> The most modern views related to PD introduce, as an additional determinant factor, the mutual understanding and the trust between people.<sup>51</sup>

United States of America was the first country that adopted the term PD and not "propaganda" or "psychological war," as it needed an alternative, gentler name of doing politics. It was obvious that the main intention was to make a clearer distinction between its own democratic practices of information policy in contrast to the Soviet Union's. However, after the end of the Cold War, PD practices dominated the international stage due to the 24-hour news coverage (real-time television news), the emerging Internet, and the new ideologies that had risen at that period in Eastern Europe. All these challenges persuaded statesmen that an attractive national image and information had begun to play a vital role in international relations.<sup>52</sup>

As Mark Leonard highlights, the implementation of PD can result in the following impacts: first, the increase of people's familiarity with the "sender" country (the citizens start thinking more positively about it, tackling any negative view); second, the increase of respect for the country (creates positive perceptions); third, the understanding of the values and the open invitation for a productive dialogue (for example, by encouraging foreign citizens to see the country as the most attractive destination for tourism, studies, etc., or even for education by distance learning).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Shaun Riordan says that the power of the image of a country has its origin in the cultural, political, and economical multiformity. Shaun Riordan, *Dialogue-based PD: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?* (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations'Clingendael', 2004), 9.

<sup>50</sup> Eytan Gilboa, "Media Diplomacy: Conceptual Divergence and Applications," *Press/Politics* 3, no. 3, (1997,) 58–62.

<sup>51</sup> Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, (London: The Foreign Policy Center, 2002,) 8.

<sup>52</sup> N. J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy*: 12.

<sup>53</sup> Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, (London: The Foreign Policy Center, 2002), 9.

Therefore, PD has to do with building trust; with the understanding of different cultural identities, values, and needs of others; with the communication and the exchange of different views; and with the correction of possible misperceptions. Additionally, PD seeks to fill the gap, finding common goals and values. Here is the essential difference from traditional diplomacy: Traditional diplomacy stems from governments and is addressed to governments, while PD stems from governments and is addressed to the public.<sup>54</sup> PD does not oppose conventional diplomacy but acts as a complement to it. Moreover, PD, to be effective, must be considered as an interconnected part of diplomatic activities and integrated completely into their structures.<sup>55</sup>

## **1. Dimensions and Tools of PD**

Given that the task of PD is "to inform, engage and ultimately affect the foreign public opinion"<sup>56</sup> through persuasion techniques, Christopher Ross, in his related article, presents seven pillars(tools) that PD is based upon:

### **a. First Pillar**

The first of these so-called pillars is *policy advocacy*. More accurately, this term represents the high priority that PD sets on ensuring that the foreign public has an accurate image about the country rather than an image based on inaccurate facts (opinions, distortions, etc.)

### **b. Second Pillar**

The second pillar refers to the priorities regarding information. The government that follows PD techniques must ensure that information priorities are clear, messages are consistent, and resources are used effectively. Although there are a variety of types of messages, audiences, formats, and media, all these should be part of a

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<sup>54</sup> Simon Anholt, *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 10.

<sup>55</sup> Javier Noya, "The United States and Europe: Convergence or Divergence in PD" (Lecture, Conference on PD, "The Present and Future of PD: A European Perspective," Madrid, November 30, 2006).

<sup>56</sup> Christopher Ross, *Pillars of Public Diplomacy: Grappling with International Public Opinion*, <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&requesttimeout=500&folder=7&paper=1649>.

comprehensive PD strategy. Moreover, since messages are not always perceived by audiences in the same way (due to different languages, cultures, etc.) the government should take under consideration all the political, economic, social, and cultural parameters that contribute to the formulation of the overall environment. An example of this is television coverage of the war in Iraq, where Arab, European, and American media had different ways of covering the events, causes, and effects of the war. Therefore, it is important for the country to be attractive to foreign public opinion, by sharing values and ideals in the appropriate way. For example, U.S. policy in Arabic and Muslim countries before the war in Iraq failed because of the prevailing anti-American stereotypes.

*c. Third Pillar*

The third pillar is related to the credibility and persuasiveness of the broadcasted message, which must be consistent, truthful, and credible. Ross says characteristically: “We must always say what we mean and mean what we say.”<sup>57</sup> For this reason, governments often seek cooperation and alliances with nonstate actors such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) because of their independent and reliable character. While diplomats continue to play an important role in world politics, very often they are inefficient in “attracting” the wider society. PD, therefore, harmonizes and coordinates activities of nonstate actors in order to contribute to the development and promotion of the soft power of a country. This differs from the traditional version of diplomacy because it interacts not only with governments but primarily with nongovernment agencies, businesses, foreign elite opinion, etc., as stated by Ed Murrow,<sup>58</sup> director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1963. Similarly, the contribution of PD to foreign governments’ issues is indirect; meaning that it is applied not only through formal, public channels, but it is also mobilizing alternative channels such as media, business associations, chambers of commerce, expatriate networks, scientific groups, etc.

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<sup>57</sup>Christopher Ross, *Pillars of Public Diplomacy: Grappling with International Public Opinion*, <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&requesttimeout=500&folder=7&paper=1649>.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

**d. Fourth Pillar**

The fourth pillar is perfectly consistent with the third. The messages should be not only credible and reliable but accurate, as well, without creating gaps in public information. “There need be no contradiction between consistency and tailoring,” as Ross<sup>59</sup> emphasizes. Silence, very often, can be considered very productive in politics, but simultaneously can be very dangerous if media attempt to cover the gaps created by silence. Thus, it is critical to use tools for measuring the pulse of public opinion (e.g., opinion polls), since significance and effectiveness stem not from what it is said but from how it is said (the way that the message is conveyed). Moreover, another important tool of PD is the type of media that disseminate the message. The message, also, should be constantly repeated via official or governmental channels of communication (e.g., e-mails, advertisements, educational and cultural TV programs, etc.) However, it is remarkable that television media play the first role in the transmission of messages.

**e. Fifth Pillar**

The fifth pillar, dialogue, is regarded as a vital tool of PD. Dialogue projects the critical ability of hearing the needs and understanding the cultures of others. As Shaun Riordan comments,<sup>60</sup> “No country and no government should considered that they hold the monopoly of truth or virtue.” If the objective is to convince the audience and not just achieve victory, the solution lies in reliability and honest dialogue. But dialogue does contain not only the speaking but the listening as well. According to Cull, “The phenomenon of listening rather than speaking is promising but rarely applied.”<sup>61</sup> For example, a successful use of PD addressed by the USA should include the assumption that Islam is different, has its own values and historical and cultural

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<sup>59</sup> Christopher Ross, *Pillars of Public Diplomacy: Grappling with International Public Opinion*, <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&requesttimeout=500&folder=7&paper=1649>.

<sup>60</sup> Shaun Riordan, *Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?*, The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2004) 3.

<sup>61</sup> N. J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 8.

traditions, and that the West does not have all the right answers. Therefore, the West should not consider their own values universally accepted, but should accept that there are many alternative routes to democracy.

*f. Sixth Pillar*

Cultural diplomacy<sup>62</sup> and cultural exchange visits are the sixth pillar and an important tool of PD because a government can be promoted abroad and influence public opinion through cultural traditions and events. Regarding cultural exchanges among students, the students can be an excellent ambassador for the hosting country, refuting any existing negative stereotypes.

*g. Seventh Pillar*

The use of electronic media such as radio, television, and Internet, should be seen as crucial tools in influencing foreign public opinion (seventh pillar). A typical example is the influence exerted on international relations by Al Jazeera (media diplomacy). Since its broadcasting programs are a means of spreading the culture of a country, they are considered important communication mechanisms for a successful exercise of PD. Another representative example is the BBC World Service, which broadcasts international television programs and functions as a key component of the British PD.

It is therefore understandable that PD cannot be a one-way message-transmission process. According to the definition given by the University of Southern California Center on PD, “PD focuses on the ways in which a country communicates with citizens of other societies. A country can act not only with official channels but with

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<sup>62</sup> N. J. Cull, analyzing the term cultural diplomacy, points out that it must be defined as “an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad.” Cull presents as ancient examples of cultural diplomacy the Greek construction of the great library at Alexandria, the Roman Republic’s policy inviting the sons of “friendly kings” from their borders to be educated in Rome, and the Byzantine Empire’s sponsorship of Orthodox evangelism across the Slavic lands. Cull includes the work of organizations such as the British Council and Italian Cultural Institute as today’s examples of cultural diplomacy. (J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009, 15).

individuals or nongovernmental institutions as well.”<sup>63</sup> Dialogue is the starting point of an effective PD and often plays a central role in achieving foreign politics objectives. PD should be considered as an interactive process.

## **2. Factors for an Effective PD**

As Nye defines in his book, there are three dimensions-tools of an effective PD:<sup>64</sup> The first is daily communication, which involves the explanation of the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions. Nye explains that after making decisions, government officials in modern democracies usually pay a good deal of attention to what to tell the press and how to do it. However, Mark Leonard<sup>65</sup> warns that many governments make the mistake of explaining domestic decisions only to internal audience and fail to realize the effect of their actions on the international image of their country. For example, Nye continues, after a series of railroad accidents, the British press scornfully described Britain as a “third world country.” Without explanation of the context, some foreign press repeated such phrases in their reporting, and that contributed to the image of Britain as a declining nation.

The second dimension is strategic communication. This requires simple themes, much like what occurs in a political or advertising campaign. This campaign plans symbolic events and communications over the course of a year to brand the central themes or to advance a particular government policy.

The third dimension of PD is the development of lasting relationships through scholarships, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels. Many world leaders such as Anwar Sadat, Helmut Schmidt, and Margaret Thatcher, have been educated in American universities and nurtured in the American culture. Nye concludes that each of these three dimensions of PD plays a critical role in creating an attractive image of a country, but he warns that only open-minded tactics provide added value and,

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<sup>63</sup> “What is Public Diplomacy?”, USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, <http://USCPublicDiplomacy.org>

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 107–110.

<sup>65</sup> Mark Leonard is the Executive Director of the European Council of Foreign Relations, the first European think-tank. (<http://markleonard.net/about/>).

conversely, policies that are narrowly self-serving or arrogantly presented are likely to consume rather than produce soft power.<sup>66</sup> For Nye, also, effective PD means listening as well as talking. He describes it as a “two-way” process that gives emphasis to understanding the others. It is obvious that PD requires open-minded people and “thinking out of the box” behaviors.

### **3. Measuring the Success or Effectiveness of PD**

The official attempt for this measurement comes from U.S. PD, and it is the Evaluation & Measurement Unit (EMU), part of the Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R/PPR). The official website of the U.S. Department of State provides the motto of this unit, which is: “Building accountability and effectiveness in public diplomacy.”<sup>67</sup> The basic target of the unit is to evaluate all the PD programs, carried out by the Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP) and U.S. overseas missions.<sup>68</sup> The evaluation is carried out through the exploration of influence obtained from the public diplomacy missions, using surveys and focus groups to gain necessary measurement data.

However, the lack of an integrated evaluation system was the condition that triggered the U.S. Advisory Commission on PD to outsource this commitment to the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin.<sup>69</sup> The research team, after reviewing current public diplomacy measurement methods and assessing gaps in the various measurement methods, proceeded to develop a comprehensive measurement framework. The result was the Public Diplomacy Model for the Assessment of Performance (PD-MAP).

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<sup>66</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 110.

<sup>67</sup> U.S. Department of State, Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, <http://www.state.gov/open/index.html/>.

<sup>68</sup> U.S. Departments of State, Office of Policy Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, “Evaluation and Measurement Unit”, <http://www.state.gov/r/ppr/emu/index.html/>.

<sup>69</sup> Matt Armstrong, “A notional model for evaluating Public Diplomacy,” *Mountainrunner*, October, 7, 2010, [http://mountainrunner.us/2010/10/a\\_notional\\_model\\_for\\_evaluatoin.html/](http://mountainrunner.us/2010/10/a_notional_model_for_evaluatoin.html/).



According to a presentation made by the research team in September 2010, the main features of the PD-MAP are: the use of MS-Excel spreadsheet, a hierarchy of performance measures, putting expectations/standards on a common scale, examining whether PD facilitates strategic planning and communication and whether PD is flexible and adaptable. However, there are critiques that illustrate serious deficiencies and weaknesses of the Model. For instance, Matt Armstrong<sup>70</sup> emphasizes the constraints that limited the effort of the LBJ School: time, funding, and access to official and governmental sources. Moreover, he characterized this “notional model” as shallow and inappropriate to fulfill the expectations.

To conclude, evaluation of PD is a complex project. It demands clearly defined targets, thoroughly recorded inputs and outputs, and close cooperation among authorities. This effort seems to be in the early stages of its development; however, the official authorities have recognized its valuable contribution to increasing the effectiveness of the performance.

## **B. PD VS. PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC RELATIONS**

It is considered by many scholars that the terms *propaganda* and *PD* share common historical roots and characteristics. More specifically, they state that these terms denote the same objective. In other words, the common goal is communication and dissemination of ideas aiming at influencing the foreign public opinion.<sup>71</sup> According to the definition given by David Welch, “Propaganda is the deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and values for the specific purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of the propagandists and their political masters, either directly or indirectly.”<sup>72</sup> There is a phrase by Richard Holbrooke that supports the argument for the close relation between these two terms: “Call it PD, call it

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<sup>70</sup> Matt Armstrong, “A notional model for evaluating Public Diplomacy,” Mountainrunner, October, 7, 2010, [http://mountainrunner.us/2010/10/a\\_notional\\_model\\_for\\_evaluatoin.html/](http://mountainrunner.us/2010/10/a_notional_model_for_evaluatoin.html/).

<sup>71</sup> Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations'Clingendael', 2005), 8.

<sup>72</sup> David Welch, *Powers of Persuasion*, (History Today, August 1999) 24–26.

public affairs, psychological warfare, if you really want to be blunt, propaganda.”<sup>73</sup> Moreover, G. R. Berridge and Alan James consider PD as "the new form of propaganda that characterizes the 21st century, and is applied by diplomats.”<sup>74</sup>

However, what makes the difference is that propaganda “is seeking to persuade people to think narrowly rather than broadening their spiritual horizon.”<sup>75</sup> The two concepts differ in the way of communicating with the audience. PD is a two-way communication process that seeks a balanced and fair promotion of the interests of a state in international public opinion and is based on the art of persuasion and dialogue with the audience. PD is characterized by its ability to listen to what people have the need to say.<sup>76</sup> Characteristic are the words of Charlotte Beers:<sup>77</sup> "Our aim is not what is said but what the world wants to hear." In other words, the success of PD is based, not on a simple transmission of a message to the public, but on an effective one.

As a supplement to this argument, I will use an excerpt from an interview that Mr Koumoutsakos, Spokesman of the Hellenic Ministry for Foreign Affairs, gave in the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* regarding PD:

Propaganda tries to tell people what to think. Propaganda strives to narrow the minds and the options of people; public diplomacy is fundamentally different from propaganda because it also listens to what people have to say. Public diplomacy is interactive; it is democratic, open communication based on a pluralistic approach to exchanging information, while propaganda is very much targeted. There is a one-way message from the center that propagates a message, and this center ignores or does not want to receive feedback. Propaganda's sole purpose is to disseminate a message and brainwash the audience. [Public Diplomacy] is a good thing because it is very democratic, interactive; a free exchange of views and

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<sup>73</sup> Richard Holbrooke, “Get the Message Out”, Washington Post, October, 28, 2001.

<sup>74</sup> G. R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001) 117-xxi.

<sup>75</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*, (Oxford, UK, and Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2003), xv-xxi.

<sup>76</sup> Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2005), 22.

<sup>77</sup> Charlotte Beers worked for the Bush Administration from October 2001 until March 2003 as the Under-Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

information. So it has nothing to do with propaganda. Propaganda is often based on distortion of the truth, while public diplomacy cannot afford to lose its credibility—it cannot afford not to tell the truth.<sup>78</sup>

### C. PD AND NATION BRANDING

Nation branding has been a fairly recent development in the area of international communications. It refers to the fact that each nation has its own competitive trade identity, and it is based on the wide diffusion of soft power, as well as on the effective conduct of PD. Nation branding is aiming at the creation of a positive national image and a beneficial national reputation. The basic tool is the constant broadcast of a nation's values through national communications channels and the use of complete marketing and international public relations strategies.<sup>79</sup>

Keith Dinnie comments in his book *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice* that nation branding “is an exciting, complex, and controversial phenomenon.”<sup>80</sup> He continues, very interestingly, with the explanation of each aspect, saying that it is *exciting* due to the lack of existing literature, *complex* because of the multiple disciplines that it encompasses, and *controversial* because it generates conflicting viewpoints and opinions.<sup>81</sup>

Numerous scholars argue, regarding the relationship between PD and nation branding, that nation branding is identified with PD. Moreover, they state that this identification occurs by virtue of euphemism, as nation branding refers to something very professional, while PD refers to something more formal and institutional. However, the majority of theorists and researchers seem to distinguish the two concepts, even though they recognize a large degree of correlation between them.

It is obvious that Nation Branding is influenced by the philosophy and practice of marketing. It requires very clear and targeted strategies, the mobilization and cooperation

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<sup>78</sup> The Bridge Magazine, “The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations”, [http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=564&Itemid=81](http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=564&Itemid=81).

<sup>79</sup> H. Papathanou, *Greece as Brand. The configuration of the National Brand Identity*, (Athens: National School of Public Administration, 2007).

<sup>80</sup> Keith Dinnie, *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, and Practice*, (Edinburgh: Elsevier Ltd, 2007), 13.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

of all governmental and/or nongovernmental agencies in a country.<sup>82</sup> PD, on the other hand, moving in the field of international relations, is not related to market conditions and is not designed to meet very specific objectives, but aims at achieving a more general positive image of a country. To illustrate this argument, there is the case of developing and less developed countries that have chosen the strategy of Nation Branding as being more targeted and effective. Conversely, there are developed and powerful countries that have communication strategies based on the principles and methods of PD.<sup>83</sup>

Even Simon Anholt, who argues that PD is Nation Branding's subfield, reviewed the terms and noted the importance of PD in the management of a country's national identity.<sup>84</sup> He notably adds that PD, when working with the full support of all national agencies and in conjunction with the effective practice of nation branding, is able to influence the image of a country and transform it into a competitive advantage.<sup>85</sup> To sum up, Nation Branding and PD are two concepts largely complementary to each other, and they should not be viewed as two completely different fields or notions.

#### **D. THE NEW FACE OF PD**

The technological explosion that characterizes the current era known as "Information Age" in conjunction with world economic, political, and commercial integration, demographic changes, and the spread of democracy, are events that have radically changed the map of international relations. The revolution in communications technology has changed the way that governments interact with each other. Given that decisions must be made quickly, and any message crossing the borders takes the form of global communication, authorities pursue the absolute in controlling decision-making processes.<sup>86</sup> This evolution has altered the participatory process as well. The Internet now

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<sup>82</sup> Jan Melissen, 22–25.

<sup>83</sup> USC Center on Public Diplomacy, Simon Anholt, Feb15, 2007, <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/>

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Simon Anholt, *Competitive Identity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 14–15.

<sup>86</sup> Cull, *op.cit.*, 49.

multiplies the sources of information, providing opportunity and space to citizens to increase their critical thinking about what is happening around them and to increase their ability to exert political control over governments.<sup>87</sup>

The need for a new form of PD is unquestioned. Issues such as terrorism, climate change, poverty, insecurity, and conflict are only a sample of the most pressing international challenges. Governments are not able to confront effectively this expanding number of problems on their own. The globalized world requires a globalized way of finding solutions. In other words, the new dynamics demand new tactics and behaviors and thus a new form of PD “that combines the understanding of a given challenge, in both a factual and a narrative sense, with the ability to mobilize networks and public support to bring about concrete change.”<sup>88</sup>

In the same speech, Dr Babst, continuing her approach to the new challenges, gives to the audience the key principles that should govern NATO’s drawing new policies.<sup>89</sup> She emphasizes the ability of “listening” as follows: “.....successful public diplomacy does not begin with talking, but with listening.” In addition, she focuses on the importance of credibility that must characterize the message, recalling a true incident from George Bush’s administration in which the president announced that “the free world has achieved its first victory in the war on terror”; but only a year later, in 2005, there was a sudden outbreak of suicide bombings that made clear to everybody that the road to a peaceful and secure Afghanistan would be long and bumpy.

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<sup>87</sup> Richard Grant, *The Democratization of Diplomacy: Negotiating with the Internet*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy (Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations “Clingendael”2005).

<sup>88</sup> Extract from a speech by Dr. Stefanie Babst, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy Strategy at the NATO PfP Symposium on 22 January 2009.

<sup>89</sup> Speech by Dr. Stefanie Babst, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy Strategy at the NATO PfP Symposium, *Public Diplomacy—The Art of Engaging and Influencing*, 22 January 2009, 4–5.

The new element that Dr Babst's thesis seems to bring in is that PD "is not always about you,"<sup>90</sup> meaning that, often, policy issues are better communicated by third parties, such as think tanks and academics, rather than through official statements. Finally, she refers to the new tool of the new age, the World Wide Web, highlighting the imperative need of using any utilities that this evolution gives. To support this, she presents the example of Pope Benedict XIV, who has launched his dedicated site on YouTube.

However, the State Department seems to have realized the value of the Internet for PD in 2008, when it launched a new plan, called Public Diplomacy 2.0.<sup>91</sup> The basic objective of the plan was to expand the use of the Internet in the service of PD methods through specific actions and measures. During the presentation of the plan in 2008 at the New America Foundation, the State Department's Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy, James Glassman, presented his statement using as an example the Colombian movement against FARC, where the Colombian government convinced, via Facebook, millions of people to protest in the streets against the rebel group.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, J. Nye claims that new PD moves beyond messaging and promotion campaigns to the extent that it "directs governmental contacts with foreign publics serving foreign policy purposes."<sup>93</sup> Very interestingly, he describes the new era of PD, emphasizing it operates in an expanded and well-structured network directed by governmental or nongovernmental agencies and strictly dedicated to a specific policy. In his conclusion, he focuses on the main objective, that being promotion and participation rather than control.

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<sup>90</sup> Speech by Dr. Stefanie Babst, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy Strategy at the NATO PfP Symposium, Public Diplomacy—The Art of Engaging and Influencing, 22 January 2009, 4–5.

<sup>91</sup> Marilia Maciel, "Public Diplomacy," E-Diplomacy, 1 March 2010, <http://edip.diplomacy.edu/node/30/>.

<sup>92</sup> Donna Krape, "PD 2.0": Presentation by Undersecretary for PD James Glassman, <http://www.darrenkrape.com/journal/public-diplomacy-20-with-undersecretary-glassman/>.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph Nye, "The New Public Diplomacy", Today's Zaman, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-201273-100-the-new-public-diplomacy.html/>.

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### **III. PD METHODS ADOPTED BY OTHER COUNTRIES**

#### **A. INTRODUCTION**

As it has been defined in previous paragraphs, the key elements for a successful PD are: daily communication, strategic communication, and development of lasting relationships. This chapter will present, in brief, the PD of three countries. The main purpose for this reference in other countries' PD is to provide an additional and more tangible knowledge of PD. The selection of the countries was not random. The basic criterion for this selection was whether a country's PD is successful in terms of promoting the country's national interests. In addition, this speculation will be tested by putting each country's current PD performance on the benchmark of the aforementioned components for a successful PD.

#### **B. U.S. PD**

The related literature, evidently, is enormous, and this is justified by the fact that the U.S. is a pioneer country in the use of PD in world politics. Moreover, as it is rightly pointed out by Professor Nye<sup>94</sup>, U.S. has significant sources of PD "tools," and that gives to the country reputation and attractiveness. This is exactly what happened in the case of the U.S. Nye very interestingly presents details that illustrate some solid soft power characteristics and consequently PD characteristics:<sup>95</sup>

- The U.S. attracts six times the inflow of foreign immigrants that Germany—the second country in the row—does.
- The U.S. is the number one exporter of films and television programs.
- More than 86,000 foreign scholars were in residence at American educational institutions in 2002.
- The U.S. publishes more books than any other country.
- The U.S. ranks first in Nobel prizes for physics, chemistry, and economics and takes the second place for Nobel prizes in literature.

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<sup>94</sup> Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.



The current foundational authority of the U.S. government to engage in PD is driven by the following four acts: the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948; the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956; the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961; and the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994.<sup>96</sup>

Especially the content of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 is very interesting for the purpose of the topic, as it enhances the utility of U.S. exchange programs as a PD tool. Characteristically, it says that the four basic purposes of the educational and cultural exchanges are:

- to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchanges;
- to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations by demonstrating the educational and cultural interests, developments, and achievements of the people of the United States and other nations, and the contributions being made toward a peaceful and more fruitful life for people throughout the world;
- to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement;
- to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic, and peaceful relations between the United States and the other countries of the world.

The following table is a very interesting illustration of the evolutionary path of U.S. PD,<sup>97</sup> where it is clearly visible that PD is directly linked to, and is dependent upon, significant historical events. This indicates the involvement of PD and the level at which American diplomacy has decided to use it.

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<sup>96</sup> Kennon H. Nakamura and Matthew C. Weed, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues", December 18, 2009.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 8.

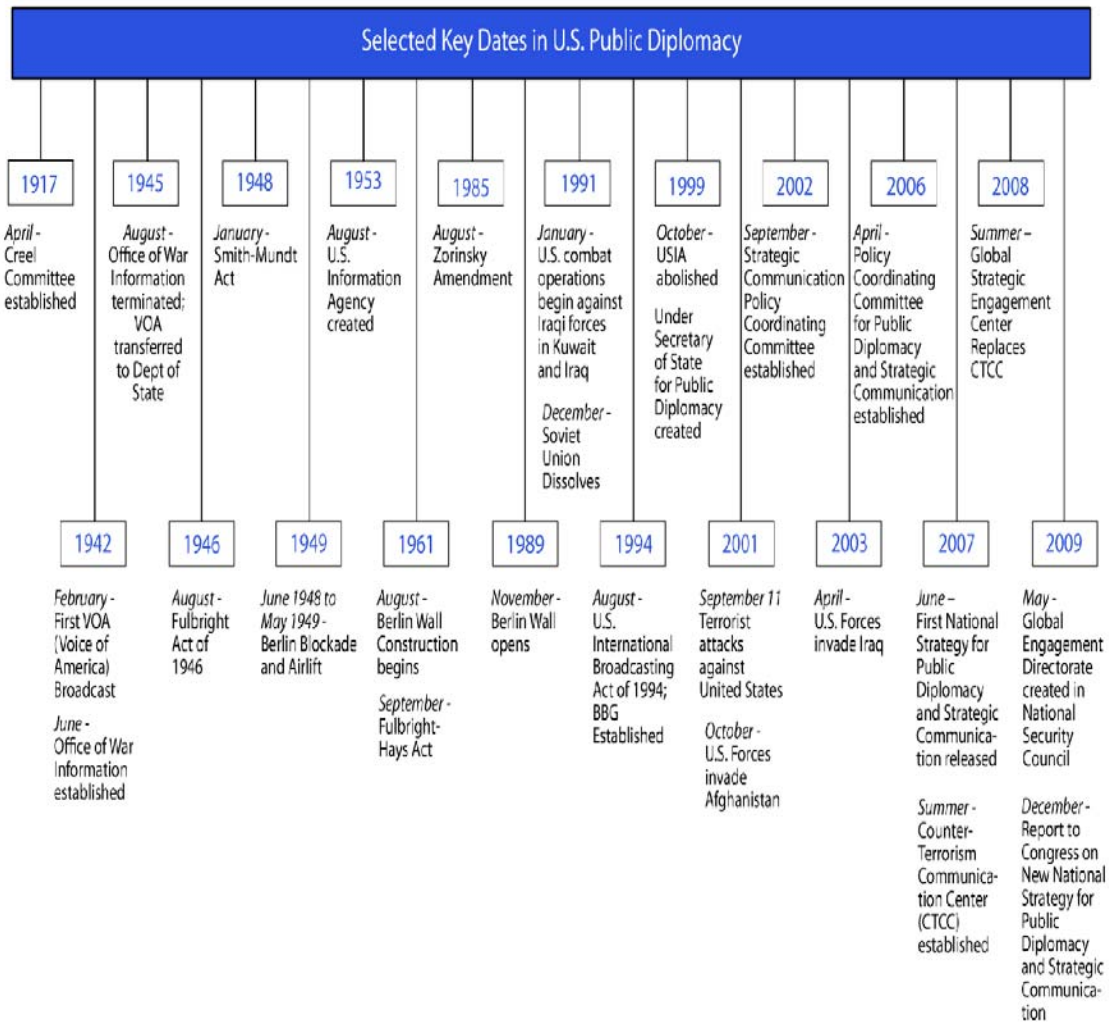


Figure 1. The Evolutionary Path of U.S. PD

Commenting very briefly on the events that shaped the evolution of PD through this table, we can say that the significant start was made during WWI by President Woodrow Wilson, who established the Committee on Public Information (Creel Committee). It was the U.S. government's first large-scale effort of information dissemination to both domestic and foreign audiences.<sup>98</sup> The next milestone decision that was critical to this evolution was made during WWII by President Franklin Roosevelt,

<sup>98</sup> Kennon, Nakamura, Matthew C. Weed, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues", Congressional Research Service, December 18, 2009, 9.

who established the Office of War Information (OWI). The basic mission of OWI was to provide American and foreign audiences with news of the war, U.S. war policies, and the activities and aims of the U.S. government. Voice of America (VOA), which is the oldest of the U.S. government radio broadcasting services, was an integral part of OWI's programs.<sup>99</sup> As another significant moment, we must refer to the decision of President Dwight Eisenhower, on August 1, 1953, to create the independent United States Information Agency (USIA), which was the responsible agency for executing U.S. public diplomacy efforts to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics in promotion of the U.S. interests, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and foreign publics.<sup>100</sup>

USIA was abolished by the Foreign Affairs Agencies Consolidation Act of 1998, and its functions were transferred to the Secretary of State.<sup>101</sup> From my point of view, there are two interesting points, which should be mentioned about USIA's activity, fully related to PD tools: one is the extensive use of radio<sup>102</sup> as a key tool of media diplomacy (therefore PD), and the other is USIA activities in the field. As for the first, in 1999, the U.S. government and surrogate services broadcast hours included: 660 hours of weekly VOA programming in 53 languages, 24 hours-a-day of radio, 4½-hour-per-day television broadcasting in Spanish to Cuba, and over 500 hours per week of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) programming in 23 languages to Central Europe,

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<sup>99</sup> Kennon, Nakamura, Matthew C. Weed, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues", Congressional Research Service, December 18, 2009, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>102</sup> With the enactment of the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994, as discussed previously, all U.S. international broadcasting services were consolidated under a new Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) within USIA. The BBG had responsibility for supervising, directing, and overseeing the operations of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB). The IBB included the worldwide broadcasting services of the Voice of America (VOA) and television's Worldnet, Cuba Broadcasting, an Engineering and Technical Operations Office, and various support services. The BBG also had funding and oversight authority over surrogate radio grantees: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) and Radio Free Asia (RFA). Among BBG's responsibilities was to review and evaluate the operations of the radios, and assess their quality, effectiveness, and professional integrity. It also was responsible for determining the addition or deletion of the language services under the IBB. (source: U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues, Kennon H. Nakamura Analyst in Foreign Affairs, Matthew C. Weed, Analyst in Foreign Policy Legislation December 18, 2009, 10.)

Russia, Iran, Iraq, and the republics of the former Soviet Union.<sup>103</sup> According to the latter, in 1999, USIA operated 190 United States Information Agencies (USIS) posts in 142 countries. The work of the USIS officer involved advocating U.S. positions but also involved working with a much larger segment of the host country's society to discuss both broad U.S. government policy and more specific issues of mutual interest to that country, such as U.S. import quotas or visa issuance policies.<sup>104</sup> In order to communicate convincingly across a broader segment of contacts, USIS officers had to study and absorb the political and cultural climate of the host country, the better to craft messages and offer insights about America which could be coherently read in the local context.<sup>105</sup>

## **1. Current Structure of Public Diplomacy Within the Department of State**

As it has been previously reported, planning, funding, and implementation of PD programs are led by the Department of State through the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Three bureaus and two offices report to the Under Secretary:<sup>106</sup>

- Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) headed by an Assistant Secretary;
- Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP) headed by a Coordinator;
- Bureau of Public Affairs (PA) headed by an Assistant Secretary;
- Office of Policy, Planning and Resources (R/PPR) headed by a Director, and
- Office of Private Sector Outreach (R/PSO), also headed by a Director.

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<sup>103</sup> Kennon Nakamura, Matthew C. Weed, U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues, (Congressional Research Service, 18 December 2009), 12.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>105</sup> Mike Canning, The Overseas Post: The Forgotten Element of Our Public Diplomacy, (Washington D.C: The Public Diplomacy Council, 1 December 2008), 4.

<sup>106</sup> Kennon Nakamura, Matthew C. Weed, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues", Congressional Research Service December 18, 2009.

## **2. Other Government Agencies Communicating with Foreign Publics**

Besides State Department, which is the primary agency of PD, in this regard we should include the involvement of the Department of Defense (DOD) and Agency for International Development (USAID), two agencies with clear foreign policy aspects to their activities.

## **3. Additional Actors**

There are a significant number of educational exchanges, such as the program for short-term exchange of scientists at the National Cancer Institute. The exchanges function as PD initiatives, providing education in parallel to the overall culture of the American people. Also, the role of numerous NGOs, many founded during the Cold War, is fully related to PD as they seek to develop long-term relationships and to improve foreign populations' understanding and attitudes toward the United States. Among these organizations, there are the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Asia Foundation, the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii, and the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Program.<sup>107</sup>

## **4. Cases of Success and Failure**

Continuing the brief presentation of American PD and intending to give a tangible description of the term, I feel compelled to mention one successful and one unsuccessful case of it, as they have been presented by Cull.<sup>108</sup>

The successful case of PD is the support of the development of missiles in Europe in 1983. The problem faced by U.S. foreign policy was the reaction of European public opinion against the development of missiles. President Reagan, in order to deal with this situation, decided to create a small group of European entrepreneurs and media moguls. The key message that he decided to communicate was that the threat to peace in Europe was not America, but the Soviet missiles deployed since 1975.

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<sup>107</sup> Kennon Nakamura, Matthew C. Weed, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues", Congressional Research Service, 18 December 2009, 32.

<sup>108</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, (University of Southern California, Los Angeles. April 2007.)

This group, in turn, set as its target audience the local voices, which were convinced about the real cause of the problem. The shift in public opinion was reached and measured by polls. The road now was open. In the analysis of this case, Professor Cull attributes the success to three key elements: Firstly, the aim was strictly defined and tangible; secondly, the choice of target audience was apt; thirdly, a credible messenger (Abshire<sup>109</sup>), who was already known to the target audience, was carefully selected.

As a failure case of PD, Cull mentions the effort of the U.S. government to justify to international public opinion the U.S. military presence in Vietnam. Despite the money invested for this purpose, PD was unable to overcome the harsh realities of the war. As he comments characteristically: “The cluster bombing, search and destroy missions, mounting civilian casualties and GIs ‘destroying the village in order to save it’ proved more powerful than any protestation at a Washington press conference that the U.S. was not fighting in the best interests of the Vietnamese people.”<sup>110</sup> This portrays the important issue, which has already been presented in the literature review, of the integration of PD into foreign policy. Indeed, PD does not work if it is not directly linked to policy.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, this is one more case that illustrates the importance of the message of PD, which must be reliable and truthful, in order to achieve the desired targets.

## **5. Challenges That U.S. PD Faces**

The aftermath of the 9/11 crisis finds American PD, as all issues of world politics, at a critical turning point. It was the beginning, as Professor Nye points out, of a big reduction in the attractiveness of the country in Europe, in Latin America, and in the entire Muslim world.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> David Manker Abshire has served as a Special Counselor to President Reagan and was the U.S. Ambassador to NATO from 1983-1987. Currently Abshire presides over the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress. In July 2002, he was elected President of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation of New York.

<sup>110</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, April 2007), 45.

<sup>111</sup> Philip Seib, *Connecting Public Diplomacy and Policy*, (Vol. I Issue 5, September 2009).

<sup>112</sup> Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, *Soft Power and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (NY: Routledge, 2010), 4.

PD was tasked with improving the country's image, internationally filling the gap “... between how a large part of America saw itself and how a large part of the rest of the world saw America.”<sup>113</sup> American PD also had to deal with the dramatic increase in media's abilities and the reality that everyone has a voice in decision-making procedures. Consequently, the question that emerged was whether PD fulfilled the demands of the new era, which were the targets set, and whether PD was effective in achieving the cited objectives.

The existing literature does not provide a significant event or example of success of PD in this period until the appearance of President Obama's “charismatic figure.” During President Bush's administration, PD had a single mission: to justify the war in Iraq. Because of this, many critics of PD used the term *propaganda* instead of PD. The end of Bush's administration found PD in a phase of modernization and the term *PD 2.0* predisposed for something new and more effective.

However, anti-Americanism in that period, having reached the peak, constitutes the main issue of American foreign policy. The election of Barack Obama, for many scholars, marked a new era of America's PD and automatically altered the dynamics of the U.S. messaging abroad.<sup>114</sup> As Timothy Garton Ash put it in the Guardian, “Obama is himself a weapon of mass attraction.”<sup>115</sup> Indeed, Obama, one month before his inauguration, gave emphasis to PD, saying to a local newspaper that he hopes to “reboot America's image around the world”<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, *Soft Power and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (NY: Routledge, 2010), 166.

<sup>114</sup> Monroe E. Price, “Changing International Broadcasting in the Obama Era?,” USC on Public Diplomacy, 6 Nov 2008, [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog\\_detail/](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/).

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Keith Reinhard, “Public Diplomacy: From Rhetoric to Reality,,” *Front Lines*, Sep-Oct 2009, [http://www.nafsa.org/File/sepoct09\\_frontlines.pdf/](http://www.nafsa.org/File/sepoct09_frontlines.pdf/).

In his inaugural address, Obama spoke directly to the Muslim world, promising “mutual interests and mutual respect.”<sup>117</sup> Promises, such as the closing of Guantanamo or withdrawing the troops from Iraq, represent this political intention, as it is an open invitation for dialogue and mutuality. An interesting document that deserves to be specially mentioned and reflects this modification is the White Oak Policypaper,<sup>118</sup> in which the shape and the direction of U.S. PD regarding the approach of the Muslim World is described. Very briefly, the recommendations of the document are the following:<sup>119</sup> holistic approach of PD; proper internal organizational structure; need for a professional PD corps; integration of the new tools of communication into PD practices; international exchanges; enhanced role of private sector actors in PD; funding; leadership and coordination.

An interview given by U.S. Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Judith McHale in Prague in December 2010 portrays the political intention regarding U.S PD’s future. Speaking about America’s image, McHale pointed out that “President Obama, in his inauguration speech, has been very committed—both he and the Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton—to pursuing engagement with people all over the world, an engagement based on mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual understanding, and a cooperative approach to all the challenges that face us.”<sup>120</sup> These words project the high priorities that have been set by American PD, having as key points the terms *engagement* and *human capital*.

Overall, there are two key points of American PD, which prefigure its future and function as a lesson learned for Greece as well: First, is the fact that the term *strategic*

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<sup>117</sup> R. S. Zaharna, “Obama, U.S. Public Diplomacy and the Islamic World”, World Politics Review, March 16, 2009, <http://www.american.edu/soc/faculty/upload/Zaharna-public-diplomacy-islamic-world.pdf>.

<sup>118</sup> Over the weekend of January 30 – February 1, 2009, some seventy participants, representing principal stakeholders in the successful restoration of PD as a vital tool of U.S. foreign policy and national security, gathered at The Howard Gilman Foundation’s White Oak conference center in northern Florida to discuss The Elements of Smart Power/: Re-Inventing Public Diplomacy.

<sup>119</sup> The White Oak, [http://mountainrunner.us/files/whiteoak/The\\_White\\_Oak\\_Recommendations\\_Endorsement\\_List.pdf](http://mountainrunner.us/files/whiteoak/The_White_Oak_Recommendations_Endorsement_List.pdf).

<sup>120</sup> Radio Free Europe, “U.S. Undersecretary Talks, About America’s Image,” 7 May 2011, <http://www.rferl.org>



*communication*, instead of the more traditional term of *public diplomacy*, is gaining ground. Second, is the enhanced role of the private sector as a significant PD actor. Admittedly, the new face of PD focuses on the people, trying to understand what is important to them. In this light, U.S. PD faces the new era more objectively, trying to approach people through mutuality and respect of diversities.

## **6. Evaluating U.S. PD**

When, at the beginning of their careers, Anwar Sadat, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Helmut Schmidt, Raul Alfonsin, and Margaret Thatcher visited the United States as students under educational exchange programs, U.S. PD was at work developing long-lasting relationships. When U.S. astronauts landed on the moon for the first time, Neil Armstrong, through the Voice of America, transmitted a very powerful message to Earth, performing, simultaneously, a strategic communication tactic. When a U.S. artist is on a tour abroad sponsored by the U.S., government achieves the third element of a successful PD, the daily communication process. Undoubtedly, U.S. PD provides a successful case and the aforementioned problems can be overcome, given the capabilities that the U.S. is able to perform.

## **C. TURKEY'S PD**

Turkey, from a PD perspective, has some significant advantages that make it a unique case. Its geographic location, in conjunction with its rich history and culture, constitutes an interesting combination serving as a communication bridge between Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, as a secular but Muslim country, it provides a distinctive identity in the modern world. This view is also projected by the words of Abdullah Gul, the current president of the Turkish democracy, who argued that “the Turkish experience proved that Islam is compatible with democracy, and as such, provides inspiration for other Muslim societies seeking reform and good governance.”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ayse Karabat, “Public Diplomacy Needed More Than Ever On The Brink Of Incursion,” Today’s Zaman, <http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Turkey/>.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

## 1. Official PD's Authorities and Main Objectives

The main carrier of Turkey's PD is the General Secretariat for Press and Information (Basin Yayin ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, or BYEGM), placed directly under the prime minister's office. This agency, established in 1920, is one of the first governmental institutions created and was originally linked to the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Council of Ministers.<sup>123</sup>

As pointed out by Kemal Ataturk in the preamble of the act establishing the General Secretariat for Press and Information, this agency provides policies and ideas in order to eliminate the weaknesses in protecting Turkey's national interests. Its main objective is the issue of publications that serve national purposes, the screening of news flow in the foreign press, and, finally, the editing of publications pertaining to ideas and concepts that may contribute positively to building a national identity for Turkey.<sup>124</sup>

Other government and private organizations that function as PD tools are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, and the Undersecretary for Foreign Trade. Moreover, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) was established on January 24, 1992, in order to provide developmental assistance to developing countries where the Turkish language is spoken. Another significant PD player in Turkey is considered to be the Ministry of National Defense, as it performs PD activities through military exchanges and training programs.<sup>125</sup>

In addition, the participation in various humanitarian missions as part of NATO, the EU, or the UN has manifested Turkey as a safeguard of peace and stability. We read in the electronic page of *Hürriyet*, on April 28, 2011, that the UN has asked Turkey to be involved in the Libyan crisis, providing humanitarian aid and resolving the ongoing crisis. Undoubtedly the role of Turkey's "soft power" in the region seems to be valuable and cannot be ignored. Mehmet Ali Birand, a political commentator at the daily *Hürriyet*, says the Libyan crisis provides the opportunity for both Turkey and its major partners to

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<sup>123</sup> Artemis Saraki, *Turkey's Public Diplomacy*, (Athens, 2008), 9.

<sup>124</sup> Office of the Prime Minister – Directorate General of Press and Information, "About Us," (<http://www.byege.gov.tr/BASIN-YAYIN/functions.htm>).

<sup>125</sup> Wikipedia, <http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Turkey/>.

learn important lessons. He writes characteristically: “Turkey understood that it does not have the power to act without the European Union or the United States; and Europe understood that without Turkey it is unable to conduct effective politics in some regions.”<sup>126</sup>

Taking into account the fact that PD, in general, should support the main objectives of national foreign policy, the basic priorities of Turkey’s foreign policy since the Cold War and until today, which should be included in PD’s priorities, are:

- The final settlement and the type of relationship that Turkey will eventually have with the European Union.
- The upgrading of Turkey’s diplomatic role in Muslim countries that emerged from the former Soviet Union.
- The recovery of Turkey’s strained relations with neighboring countries in the Middle East and its emergence as a diplomatic agent of the region.<sup>127</sup>

## **2. Successful PD Initiatives**

In this category, numerous touring exhibitions around the world can be counted as remarkable PD initiatives. Having as a main purpose the promotion of Turkish cultural heritage, these initiatives aim at addressing misperceptions as well. The most famous was the exhibition, entitled “Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600,” which opened at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. The subject was the traditional aspects of Turkish-speaking people from the eastern border of modern China to the Balkans in the west. It was one of the most ambitious exhibitions ever presented there, and the cost was over £795,000—the highest-grossing project in the history of the Royal Academy.<sup>128</sup>

## **3. Turkey’s Image Abroad**

Turkey’s image, as a topic in the political literature and mainly in the international media press, seems to have been popular since 2005 when the debate regarding Turkey’s

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<sup>126</sup> “Turkey tests “soft power” in the Muslim World,” Euractiv.com, 13 April 2011, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/>.

<sup>127</sup> Jung Dietrich, “The Sevres Syndrome: Turkish Foreign Policy and its historical legacies”, American Diplomacy, July 2003, [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2003\\_07-09/jung\\_sevres/jung\\_sevres.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html).

<sup>128</sup> Wikipedia, <http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Turkey>.

EU accession was increased. The outcomes of the polls portray the issue. A Eurobarometer poll, for instance, shows that EU population that opposes Turkish EU membership has increased over the last decade, and since 2005 it has exceeded 50 percent.<sup>129</sup>

Admittedly, the citation of polls related to a specific political question, such as the Turkish candidacy, should not be regarded as a credible evaluation method of exploring Turkey's image abroad. However, another more credible method, as Simon Anholt's surveys are regarded to be, provides the same deficit. The Anholt Nation Brand Index in 2007 ranked Turkey as 34th out of 40 countries, behind Russia, Mexico, and Egypt.<sup>130</sup> Very interestingly, the index cites cultural, strategic, and legalistic issues as the main sources of this negativity;<sup>131</sup> and Anholt, examining applicable solutions, writes in 2007 "Turkey needs a comprehensive and consistent strategy for gradually improving its international image."<sup>132</sup> "Turkey has to find ways of making itself "indispensable" to other peoples through "policies, cultural relations, exports, its diasporas and its behavior in the international arena" and by ensuring that people in other countries feel "glad that Turkey exists," Anholt underlines in 2010.<sup>133</sup>

This deficit has been underscored by internal voices as well. Hard criticism emanating from the press media manifests their opposition to the government's management. In a recent *Today's Zaman* article, for example, journalist Bulent Kenes asks:<sup>134</sup>

Why are we unable to present Turkey in a more favorable light? Why are we unable to communicate Turkey's beauties to the world? Why are Turks

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<sup>129</sup> Wolfgang Zaunbauer, "Will the EU have a New Member?" *The New Diplomacy* 2010, 26 March 2010, <http://newdiplomacy2010g.blogspot.com/2010/03/will-eu-have-new-memeber.html/>.

<sup>130</sup> Katina Barysch, "What Europeans Think about Turkey and Why", Centre for European Reform, 24 August 2007, [http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing\\_kb\\_turkey\\_24aug07.pdf/](http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing_kb_turkey_24aug07.pdf/).

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Simon Anholt, *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>133</sup> Cansu Ceran, "Turkey has to focus on its nation brand", *Huriyett Daily News*, April 1, 2011, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=turkey-has-to-focus-on-its-8216nation-brand8217>.

<sup>134</sup> Wikipedia, <http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Turkey/>.

absent from the field of public diplomacy? Why does the world not understand us Turks, and why does it not want to? Why is Turkey only mentioned in connection with negative images?

Similar criticism is emanating from high-ranking members of the government. The former Undersecretary for the Foreign Ministry Ozdem Sanberk, in an interview, focused on the lack of organizational structures and the lack of an established think-tank tradition as the causes of Turkey's PD failures.<sup>135</sup> Sanberk further added that "to realize the importance of public diplomacy and to establish the necessary mechanisms to form effective organizations will take at least two decades."<sup>136</sup>

Finally, since August 2007, the newly established Turkish government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, under the pressure that was created by the supervisory role of the army, has put as its primary objective the development of PD activities in order to convince European public opinion that Turkey deserves to be a full member of the European Union.<sup>137</sup> In mid-2008, the Turkish government made the political decision to set up the Office of Public Diplomacy in order to steer the country's international public relations jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### **4. Turkey's PD: The Armenian Genocide Resolution Challenge**

One of the major issues of Turkey's foreign policy that influence directly its international image is the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

The Turkish PD, under the Turkish foreign minister's direction, had the following mission: "The agency will cooperate with establishments, like think tanks and foundations, and will try to influence public perceptions about Turkey through them."<sup>138</sup> Indeed, in 2008 the Foreign Ministry started an organized effort using communication

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<sup>135</sup> Wikipedia, <http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Turkey/>.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Macintyre Donald, "Turkey's new President renews campaign for EU membership", The Independent on Sunday, 8-30-2007, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/turkeys-new-president-renews-campaign-for-eu-membership-463535.html/>.

<sup>138</sup> Yelena Osipova, "Turkey's Public Diplomacy: The Genocide Revolution Challenge," The Washington Review of Turkish and Eurasian Affairs, Dec 2010, <http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/turkeys-public-diplomacy-the-genocide-resolution-challenge.html>.

media, including publications, seminars, television programs, movie products, and think-tanks. Addressing these efforts mainly to the U.S. indicates that Turkey relied “heavily on its Diaspora as communication link to the larger American public.”<sup>139</sup> Another action taken as PD’s activity was the contact with non-Turkish members of the Turkish-Armenian Action Committee and the Turkish Coalition of America. CEOs of internationally known American defense and security companies—Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, United Technologies, and Northrop Grumman among them—were also mobilized and encouraged to support Turkey’s interests.<sup>140</sup>

Regarding the information approach, the Turkish government, in cooperation with the Turkish lobby, distributed brochures in Washington as an effort to prevent recognition of the Armenian genocide. Turkey’s objection focused on the lack of “truthful information about the event and the issue itself.”<sup>141</sup> In particular, the Turkish message had the following political leverages:<sup>142</sup>

- There is a need for a historical and not a political approach of the issue.
- The recognition will affect the Turkish–Armenian rapprochement.
- The recognition will affect U.S.–Turkish relations, particularly within the context of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The reference to the “advertisement”<sup>143</sup> that Turkey published in the *Washington Post* one day before the vote (March 3, 2010), illustrates the core message and deserves special mention.<sup>144</sup>

...The resolution legislates history and imposes a conviction by enforcing a one-sided interpretation of the tragedies that befell many in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. It commits a profound injustice against those seeking the truth. . . . We are further concerned that House Resolution 252

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<sup>139</sup> Yelena Osipova, “Turkey’s Public Diplomacy: The Genocide Revolution Challenge,” *The Washington Review of Turkish and Eurasian Affairs*, Dec 2010, <http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/turkeys-public-diplomacy-the-genocide-resolution-challenge.html>.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

could adversely impact relations between the U.S. and Turkey, who enjoy a “model partnership”. Our vital alliance upholds regional and global peace, security, and prosperity. The resolution could complicate Turkish-Armenian relations and thus impair the delicate normalization process between the two countries. . . . Support reconciliation, not the legislation of history.

The question whether this campaign was successful or not is a matter of argument, as the Committee passed the resolution only by one vote.<sup>145</sup> On one side, Turkish reaction to recall its ambassador after the results was not an action according to PD but a gesture of breaking mutuality and trust between the countries. In my point of view, it was an inappropriate decision and a sample of lack of respect for a nation’s decision through democratic procedures. On the other side, the fact that Hillary Clinton, one month after the passage of the resolution, reaffirmed the administration’s opposition to the recognition, projects the gravity of the U.S.-Turkish relations.

## **5. Evaluating Turkey’s PD**

Attempting to give a general idea regarding the character of the Turkish PD, in conjunction with its strong and weak features, I would like to add the following views:

Firstly, the efficacy of Turkish PD seems to be quite below its own expectations. Despite the relatively large number of actors engaged in public diplomacy activities, this area seems quite unorganized because of the absence of a central coordinating authority (the Office of Public Diplomacy is still taking its first steps). The fact that traditional Turkish diplomacy is quite well developed, established, and successful in pursuing Turkey’s diplomatic and political goals gives some valuable “know-how” in developing an equally successful PD.

Secondly, the main weakness and, at the same time, challenge of the Turkish PD is undoubtedly the democratic deficit of the country. Attempting to define briefly this deficit, the citation of *Today’s Zaman*’s article titled, “Democratic Deficit in Turkey,”

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<sup>145</sup> Yelena Osipova, “Turkey’s Public Diplomacy: The Genocide Revolution Challenge,” The Washington Review of Turkish and Eurasian Affairs, December 2010, <http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/turkeys-public-diplomacy-the-genocide-resolution-challenge.html>.

provides a tangible frame for it: “First, the government failed to reform the 1982 military constitution; Second, the government failed to enact comprehensive laws in order to sanitize the judicial system; Third, the Chief of General Staff continues to report directly to the Prime Minister instead of the Defense Minister, and half of the seats at the National Security Council (MGK) continued to be staffed by the force generals; Fourth, the Government failed to bring a resolution to Turkey’s long-standing Kurdish problem.”<sup>146</sup>

Very often, the suffocating role of the army and the severe restrictions on freedom of expression limit significantly the progressive political voice, damage the country’s international image, do not allow space for alternative views, and create a negative model. The result of these weaknesses is that international public opinion perceives conflicting messages regarding Turkey, thus making the mission of PD extremely difficult.

Thirdly, the image Turkey is trying to disseminate through PD is that of a secular Muslim country that has a European perspective. In this context, Turkey attempts to hide its political and economic weaknesses, denying at the same time its cultural and historical ties with the East. This summarizes the specificity of the Turkish case as being in the middle of two worlds, sharing fundamental features both with Europe and the East.

Finally, in the attempt of a general comparison between Turkey and Greece regarding the status of PD in both countries, their main difference pertains to the different level of institutionalized democracy. An established democratic background acts as a catalyst in the quality of public and international communication for each country. The stability of the democratic regime for the last 35 years in Greece, the improvement of living standards, and the important steps towards economic and political convergence with EU values inevitably reflects on PD and gives its executives significant advantages in practice. On the other hand, as has been indicated by the Greek Union of Press Attaches and also by entities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Greek example of PD is characterized, as in Turkey, by a serious lack of central coordination, which makes, for both countries, the need for a central body of PD an urgent requirement.

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<sup>146</sup> Abdullah Bozkurt, “Democratic Deficit in Turkey,” Today’s Zaman, April 19, 2011, <http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-241412-democratic-deficit-in-turkey.html/>.



## **D. FINLAND'S PD**

The purpose of this reference is the exploration of a small-sized country's PD, which, despite its size, is considered very active in the international arena. The purpose of selecting Finland is dual: First, Finland's PD is regarded as a successful case; and, second, Finland belongs in the small-sized category, which relies on a specific group equipped with some distinct features and differences, as have been detailed in the Literature Review chapter.

### **1. Finland's PD Tools**

Very interestingly, the Director General for the Department of Communications and Culture at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Petri Tuomi-Nikula, points out that, during the Great Depression in 1929, his country was the only one that continued making repayments to the United States.<sup>147</sup> Very justly, the trustworthy and honest Finnish, even now, reserve a concrete image in the elder Americans' perception. This historical reality is the starting point of Finnish PD.

Exploring the official Foreign Affairs website of Finland, we notice that there is a specific unit for PD that belongs to a wider section called Department for Communication and Culture.<sup>148</sup> Moreover, we see that roles and missions are specific and defined, and this fact is consistent with the prescription of PD. In particular, we read that: "The Unit for Public Diplomacy is responsible for the planning, development, coordination and country-specific support of strategic public diplomacy in foreign affairs. It makes use of the media, the arts and other means of promotion."<sup>149</sup>

The basic mission of the modern Finnish PD is "fourfold": "strengthen the operating potential of Finnish businesses; increase foreign political influence; promote interest in Finland as an investment target; and increase tourist flows to Finland. The

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<sup>147</sup> John Brown, "John Brown's Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review," July 27, 2009, <http://publicdiplomacypressandblogreview.blogspot.com>.

<sup>148</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, "Unit for Public Diplomacy" <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?nodeid=15988&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

country brand is regarded as a cornerstone for success and prosperity.”<sup>150</sup> The Unit of Public Diplomacy includes three different groups; International Media Relations Group, Culture Group; Publication and Promotion Group.<sup>151</sup> This structure declares the strong pillars that the country has decided to build in order to support the whole process. As Petri Tuomi-Nikula continues, Finnish PD has three layers:

The first layer is the country-brand project. Indeed, Finland, since 2008, has invested a lot in building its brand name. According to a press release by Finland’s Ministry for Foreign Affairs,<sup>152</sup> foreign Minister Alexander Stubb, Finland has appointed a high-level delegation to lead efforts to develop a country brand for Finland. Chief of the delegation—not a coincidence—is the Chairman of Nokia, Jorma Ollila. The core mission of the delegation is the creation of a country brand for Finland, and that means to create a strong national image that will enhance Finland’s international competitiveness. *The Country Brand Report*, issued by the delegation in April 2010, illustrates the values and main objectives regarding PD and the message that Finland intends to communicate. In the beginning of the document, the delegation defines its target: “Mission for Finland? How Finland will demonstrate its strengths by solving the world’s most wicked problems,” and continues by setting an ambitious goal for the future: “In 2030 Finland will be the problem-solver of the world.”<sup>153</sup>

The second layer of Finnish public diplomacy consists of large-scale public-private cooperation among Finland’s main actors on the international scene. These actors, among others, include the Finnish Tourist Board (MEK), Invest in Finland Agency, the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology (Tekes), the national airline Finnair, and the Finnish Forest Foundation. This public-private partnership is chaired by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Joint public diplomacy efforts include Finnish participation at the

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<sup>150</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Unit for Public Diplomacy” <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?nodeid=15988&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Annamari Sipilä, “Guardians of our Reputation”, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 21 Sep 2008, <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Guardians+of+our+national+reputation/1135239666655/>.

<sup>153</sup> Country Brand Report, “Mission for Finland”, Nov, 25, 2011. <http://www.nation-branding.info/downloads/mission-for-finland-branding-report.pdf/>.

Shanghai World Expo in 2010 and the website, “This is Finland” (<http://www.finland.fi>). Such cooperation makes it possible for other stakeholders to be informed about and partake in public diplomacy operations if they believe it will benefit them.<sup>154</sup>

The third layer of the PD concept consists of specific country programs. PD efforts are currently focused on eleven countries Finland considers most important and where, as Petri Tuomi-Nikula claims, “a relatively small investment can yield strong returns.”<sup>155</sup> These countries are Brazil, China, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, and the United States.

For each of these countries, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its embassies has developed a PD program. Each program includes an analysis of the operational environment, the status of the nation brand, definitions of objectives, key messages, target groups, tools, and, ultimately, an action plan. These plans include a variety of activities. For example, in China, an important market place for Finnish products, Finland’s Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Embassy of Finland have developed: a comprehensive website ([www.moomin.com](http://www.moomin.com)) for the Moomin characters<sup>156</sup> in Chinese; Finnish food safety guidelines for Chinese journalists and food authorities; promotion of Finnish environmental know-how by planting trees in Beijing; the distribution of Chinese-language books about Finland to Chinese universities, and an exchange program for Chinese civil servants to visit Finland for a month-long training period.

## **2. Assessing Finland’s PD**

The study of Finland’s PD projects a modern country with defined goals and committed to a twenty-year PD program. In that twenty-year plan, it is mentioned that the nation’s ability to participate and solve problems stems from two characteristics: the

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<sup>154</sup> Petri Tuomi-Nikula and René Söderman, “Finland Beyond Nokia”, Biznes.net, <http://nachnambranding.biznes.net/blogposts/view/17537>.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> The Moomins (Swedish: Mumintroll, Finnish: Muumi) are the central characters in a series of books and a comic strip by Swedish-Finn illustrator and writer Tove Jansson, originally published in Swedish by Schildts in Finland.

close relationship of people with nature and the very high level of education. These two features give concrete potential to building its image through modern PD. A safe way of assessing the country's PD is to explore the perception of others.

Recently, *Newsweek* ranked Finland as the globe's best country regarding health, education, politics, and economy.<sup>157</sup> This classification, although it can trigger many criticisms and controversies, is indicative of the reputation and appreciation that this country enjoys amongst international stakeholders. Their high level of education and technology, the reliability of their products, and the honesty of the Finnish people are some of the core values that shield the country and give supportive elements for an effective PD.

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<sup>157</sup> Newsweek, "The World's Best Countries", <http://www.newsweek.com/2010/08/15/interactive-infographic-of-the-worlds-best-countries.html/>.

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## **IV. GREECE AS BRAND—THE IMAGE OF GREECE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

States, in order to increase their strength in a competitive global environment, use tangible or intangible "weapons." One of these intangible "weapons" is reputation, which aims at pursuing the greatest political, diplomatic, and economic power without using any military intervention or economic sanction. Victor Hugo says characteristically: "There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world and that is an idea whose time has come."<sup>158</sup> Consequently, nation branding functions differently from "traditional" diplomacy, using soft power effectively.

Greece can be said to be already an easily recognizable country. Undoubtedly, Greece has a pretty strong international image in that Aegean landscapes, images of the Parthenon, and the sounds of traditional folk music create direct symbolic associations to the country. The Greek myth, travelled by the supporters of philhellenism, has been enhanced by the film "Zorba the Greek" and the organization of modern Olympic Games in Athens. Greeks are undoubtedly very proud of their history and their ancestors. The terms *democracy* and *philosophy*, two major human cultural achievements, were invented and elaborated upon on Greek territory by some illuminated ancient Greeks, and now these ideas constitute a world heritage.

### **B. STRONG FEATURES OF THE BRAND NAME "GREECE"**

To begin with, tourism is one of the positive characteristics that gives credit to Greece as a brand name. Indeed, Greece is regarded as an attractive tourist destination. Images of a Greek island, cozy white houses, and deep blue sea are well known globally. Using figures, Greece with more than 5,000 islands and islets and 15,000 km of coastline, constitutes a competitive player in the global market.<sup>159</sup> More specifically, Greece is the

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<sup>158</sup> Victor Hugo, *History of a Crime*, 1877.

<sup>159</sup> "Investment Opportunities in Tourism & Real Estate", Invest in Greece Agency, <http://www.startupgreece.gov.gr/sites/default/files>.

fourth most popular tourist destination in the EU for the year 2010, according to a Eurobarometer poll;<sup>160</sup> It holds second place among 41 countries in the world in the European Blue Flag Program;<sup>161</sup> and it is among the top ten destinations for 2010, according to *Lonely Planet Best Travel 2010*.<sup>162</sup>

Another remarkable aspect of Greece's image is its geopolitical position. Well known is the importance of Greece's location in the wider region of Southeastern Europe, being in the crossroads of three continents and three seas. The Greek strategic environment is increasingly complex, as Lesser (2001) notes, and this complexity has upgraded Greece as a "transregional" actor.<sup>163</sup> Currently, Greece also demonstrates a lively presence in the energy sector as well. Specifically, the signed agreement with Russia and Bulgaria for the construction of the Burgas-Alexandroupolis pipeline reduces cost and time of oil transportation to the West. Indeed, this is an historic event as it redefines the global energy map, connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. This challenge enhances Greece's image and reputation as it emerges as an important stakeholder of the region. Meanwhile, the construction of the Greek-Turkish natural gas pipeline that will extend towards Italy is an additional factor for enhancing the presence of Greece in world politics.<sup>164</sup>

The Greek Diaspora is another important ingredient in name branding. The population of Greek Diaspora is more than 4 million, finding its largest part in the USA, Canada, Australia, and Germany. Well known is the contribution of the Greek lobby in U.S. politics and the important role it plays in every presidential campaign.<sup>165</sup> Michael

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<sup>160</sup> European Commission Public Opinion, Euro barometer Surveys, 2011, [ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion).

<sup>161</sup> Blue Flag, [www.blueflag.org/](http://www.blueflag.org/).

<sup>162</sup> "The Top 10 Countries for 2010", Lonely Planet, <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/el-salvador/travel-tips-and-articles/15809/>.

<sup>163</sup> Ian Lesser, *Greece's New Geopolitics*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), xi.

<sup>164</sup> George Koumoutsakos, *Greek Foreign Policy, Challenges and Opportunities in a Changing Geopolitical Environment*, About Brand Greece, (Athens: 2007), 21.

<sup>165</sup> "Greek twang in American elections, GR Reporter, Feb 11, 2010, <http://www.grreporter.info/en/greek-twang-american-elections/142/>.

Dukakis<sup>166</sup> says: “. . . the fact that by 1982 Massachusetts had a Greek-American governor, a Greek-American U.S. senator and a Greek-American congressman all at the same time was truly remarkable.”<sup>167</sup> The contribution of Greek Americans in building an attractive image of Greece is significant and constitutes a remarkable effort as well.

Greece is a maritime nation by tradition. The Greek shipping fleet, according to *Lloyds' Register of Shipping*, is one of the largest in the global market. Therefore, it is the healthiest and most dynamic sector of Greece's economy. Greece as a major international shipping point controls 40 percent of the European Union vessels. The Greek flag travels all over the world, and that is another strong contributor to the enhancement of Greece's image.

Summarizing the advantages of the name “Greece,” it can be maintained that the name is no longer linked solely to some emotional concepts emanating from touristic mottos such as "sun," "sea," or "fun." Indeed, within the last decade, its image has been enhanced by some more “mature” and qualified aspects. Its geopolitical position, its important maritime industry, and its institutional security and stability complete Greece's profile of a modern and challenging country.

### **C. WEAK FEATURES OF THE BRAND NAME “GREECE”**

Despite the obvious identifiability, Greece's image suffers from various deficits, and currently these seem to be more alarming. This is the reason that this chapter will focus on the problems and not on the internationally accepted and diachronic positive aspects of the brand name “Greece.”

The uncontrolled illegal immigration to Greece is regarded as a major issue, which may cause serious social problems and can harm the country's image abroad. Greece is at present the main gateway of a massive entry of illegal immigrants into the EU. Apart from internal pressures that the government has to deal with are also the

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<sup>166</sup> Michael Dukakis is former Governor of Massachusetts and Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University.

<sup>167</sup> Graham T. Alison and Kalypso Nicolaidis, *The Greek Paradox*, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press Cambridge, 1996), 155.



European Union's worries and concerns regarding the inability to protect its eastern borders. An excerpt from a publication of the high-circulation German magazine, "*Der Spiegel*,"<sup>168</sup> portrays the problem:

One out of eight illegal immigrants comes into the European Union through Greece. In the cities, thousands of immigrants beg in the streets. Hundreds of them try to board on a ship destined to Italy. EU police (FRONTEX) helps Greece in controlling the Greek-Turkish borders and in transporting the refugees in host camps. But it remains unclear what will happen in the future. The conditions in the Greek refugee reception centers are chaotic. Moreover, the Greek asylum system cannot support anymore this large number of refugees.

Greece is a country truly gifted by nature, as Markesinis<sup>169</sup> points out, the strong asset of tourism, to him, is simultaneously a source of negativity as well. The poor service, bad transportation, and inconsistency in prices constitute a bad image for the country. Sometimes the travel and tourism-related stories, along with natural disasters, are objective and cause negative headlines internationally.

The core problem of the Greek brand, according to Professor Markesinis, is the "tragic fact that those characteristics, by which Greeks are known, in their largest part, are being seen abroad as negative."<sup>170</sup> In other words, the problem is not that the country does not have a distinctive identity, but that this identity, mainly in current times, is negative. The fact that Greeks are known as unorganized and noisy is not the best attribute for a country within a competitive political environment.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Siobhán Dowling, "The Asylum System in Greece Has Collapsed", Spiegel Online International, Jan 20, 2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,740558,00.html/>.

<sup>169</sup> Prof Markessinis, Interview to Branding Greece, September 2, 2008, <http://nation-branding.info/brandinggreece/>.

<sup>170</sup> Andreas Markesinis, "The Core Problem of the Greek brand", Branding Greece.com, <http://nation-branding.info/brandinggreece/problem-greek-brand/>.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

#### **D. GREECE'S DEBT CRISIS: GREECE'S IMAGE INTO THE STORM**

According to *2010 Country Brand Index*,<sup>172</sup> an independent and objective measurement tool of a nation's reputation, the winning countries in Europe's region are the Scandinavian ones. Paradoxically, even the bankrupted Iceland managed to improve its position from 25 to 24.

Greece presents the most significant, swift change, dropping from 14 to 22. Undoubtedly, the debt crisis and the side effects of it, such as the flowing negativity of the press, has harmed Greece's image. "Associations of Greece as a tourist destination are traditionally strong in this study but during sustained periods of bad news—affecting confidence around core services and infrastructure—consideration and advocacy are threatened," says the *Country Brand Index*'s authors.<sup>173</sup>

It is obvious that Greece's nation-brand image is suffering from the current situation of financial crisis. Before this incident, Greece's image could not be characterized as positive or negative. Many public relations experts claim interestingly that Greece's image was "blurry," in other words not bad but not good. More specifically, on one side were the bright images of landscape's beauty, deep blue sea, simple and hospitable people, great history and culture, and the very successful Olympic Games of 2004. On the other side, terrorist groups' activities, poorly organized tourist sector, low quality of public transportation, and riots and aggressive protestors were some of the headlines in international media, projecting the daily reality that Greeks are used to witnessing.

Currently, this "blurry" image has changed to an absolute negative perception. The famous Zorba figure, who enjoys life and respects friendship, has been transformed to a corrupted man who spends others' money and has cheating as a lifestyle<sup>174</sup>. Chris

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<sup>172</sup> "2010 Country Brand Index: Brand value goes North", Branding Greece.com, <http://nation-branding.info/2010/11/24>.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> The impressions that the images of Greece sent by the main international media were: The bad student; the undisciplined and spoiled child who doesn't waste the chance to spend the last cent; the lazy worker with too many privileges and an early retirement on the horizon. (source: <http://wwk.kathimerini.gr/kath/entheta/extra/AthensPlus/06-08-2010.pdf/>).

Graves<sup>175</sup> underlines lost credibility, corruption, strikes and riots, and, in addition to that, the verbal contradiction with Germany, as the major issues against Greece's image.

Unfortunately, the fallout from the economic crisis—strikes, riots, ferry and flight cancellations, fuel shortages—in combination with some extreme events, such as the murder of a journalist, have led to a steady flow of negative stories. The repeated projection, through the headlines of the international press media, of riots, petrol bombs, aggressive citizens, and strikes in the center of the capital city, has been a very bad moment for the birthplace of democracy.<sup>176</sup> Moreover, CNN, analyzing the cause of the problem, focuses on years of unrestrained spending, cheap lending, and failure to implement financial reforms.<sup>177</sup> “Lack of credibility” is the main reason of the crisis given by the Greek prime minister in a discussion on CNBC.<sup>178</sup>

Nevertheless, Greeks, being familiar with such difficulties throughout their long history, seem very optimistic that they can overcome these obstacles. Simon Anholt characterizes this current rash of negative events as surface damage only and maintains that there is still time to rectify the situation<sup>179</sup>. We read in the daily press that Prime Minister George Papandreou has conducted an impressive public relations campaign, giving more than sixty personal interviews to foreign journalists in the last nine months, in a bid to highlight the efforts Greece is making to overcome the crisis.<sup>180</sup>

Admittedly, this is not the best period for the country's international image. It is a widespread impression that Greeks are not working much, that they spend unwisely, that they are corrupt and dishonest towards their partners, that they are unable to manage their “own house,” and, in general, that they are a big problem for the Euro zone and the EU.

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<sup>175</sup> Global CEO in Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide.

<sup>176</sup> “The sad end of the party”, The Economist, May 6, 2010, <http://www.economist.com/node/16063896/>.

<sup>177</sup> “Q&A: Greece's financial crisis”, CNN, 26 March 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/BUSINESS/02/10/greek.debt.qanda/index.html/>.

<sup>178</sup> “Greece Had Lack of Credibility: Prime Minister”, CNBC, 20 September 2010, Greece Had 'Lack of Credibility:' Prime Minister”, CNBC, 09/20/2010, <http://www.cnbc.com/id/39274564/>.

<sup>179</sup> “Greece: Image and reality”, AthensPlus, 06 Aug 2010, , <http://www.kathimerini.gr/kath/entheta/extra/AthensPlus/06-08-2010.pdf/>.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

The country is not flattered by the recent economic events and recent events from Greek daily life, such as incidents of social violence in the Greek courts, significant number of doping cases in various sports, the relatively low level of tourism infrastructure and services, combined with inadequate protection of the environment.

However, what Anholt says about Greece and the current situation is really impressive. Anholt believes that the Greeks' biggest problem is that they do not understand that they are sitting on a country treasure.

Sometimes when I see the way Greece is communicating with the outside world, I feel that what's really missing is confidence. Greece has lost its purpose, direction, and I think it is very important to rediscover these. The Italians have a wonderful proverb saying that whoever becomes a sheep is eaten by the wolves. That's human nature, and when I see the way that Greece communicates, I see a beautiful and unique nation which does not believe that it is wonderful and unique. It is very difficult to love someone who does not know how to love oneself, and maybe that is part of the problem.

Indeed, the first signs of recovery have already started to be visible. The international press presents Greece as a country which, realizing the dimension of the problem, is totally committed to European Union directions for resolution. As Simon Anholt claims, the solution stems from inside the country. In the next chapter, we will explore PD's contribution to that.

#### **E. CASE STUDY—ATHENS OLYMPIC GAMES: GREECE'S IMAGE BEFORE AND AFTER**

“National reputation cannot be constructed; it can only be earned.”<sup>181</sup>

According to Josh McCall's<sup>182</sup> article published on PR Week, Greece's brand has gained a lot from her Olympic dialogue with the rest of the world:

Something amazing happened on August 13, when, at the opening ceremonies of the 2004 Olympics, Athens 2004 president Gianna Angelopoulos-Daskalaki welcomed the world to the Greek capital,

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<sup>181</sup> Simon Anholt, *Competitive Identity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 30.

<sup>182</sup> Josh McCall is Chairman & CEO of Jack Morton Worldwide.

declaring to a live audience of 72,000 and a TV audience estimated at 4 billion, “Greece is going to fire the world’s imagination.

Of course, the negative reports in the international news one year before the beginning of the Games, were disappointing. According to a survey held in December 2003 by the PR company ICAP, foreigners’ stereotypical image of Greece is the "sun and sea." However, in the same survey, Greeks appeared to be lacking some key elements that characterize a modern state, such as the acceptable level of organization, coordination, reliability, social responsibility, and managerial skills.<sup>183</sup>

A flashback to the summer of 2004 recalls in our memory the negative media coverage that Greece had witnessed during the preparation period of the Olympic Games. “Media outlets were extremely critical of the slow pace of facility preparations and the general infrastructure problems,”<sup>184</sup> we read in a very interesting study. The Athens 2004 Organizing Committee (ATHOC) carried out significant efforts to defend the honor of the Games against the repeated reports of construction delays, deficits of security, low-quality accommodations, traffic, and lack of preparations for hot weather conditions. A widespread concern whether Athens would be ready in August 2004 was hovering over the interested parties.

One of the major concerns for the international community was that of security. Olympic Games in Athens was the first world event after 9/11 and, thus, the concerns about security were justifiable. Researching coverage in the *Los Angeles Times*—particularly the presentation of some articles published during the preparation period—provided quite some feedback on press negativity. “Athens Games still cause for Concerns” was the title on February 23, 2003, and “Olympic Security Worries Intensify” was another negative title on December 5, 2003. In addition, speculation about the lack of

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<sup>183</sup> Maria Fola, “The International image of Greece, An Analysis on the occasion of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games”, 3rd Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece, London School of Economics, 14–15 June 2007. [<http://icp-forum.gr/wp/wp-content/uploads/2007/06/3rd-lse-phd-symposium-the-image-of-contemporary-greece.pdf/>].

<sup>184</sup> N. Linardopoulos, “The use of press releases, A case study of the Athens Olympic Games.”, Drexel University, 2005, [http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal\\_Files/Issue3/Linardopoulos.pdf/](http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal_Files/Issue3/Linardopoulos.pdf/).

environment-friendly plans completed the overall view. "Athens is very far from learning the lessons from Sydney. Greece has acted as if there was no past from which to learn," said Nikos Charalambides of Greenpeace Greece.<sup>185</sup>

The emerging question regarding the deficit of Greece's reputation is whether Greece's reaction towards this overflow of negativity was rapid and effective and whether the choice of communication channels had been appropriate. The leading role for conducting this reaction to negative publicity was performed by ATHOC, which had been specifically formed for this occasion, having as its core mission the management and execution of the 2004 Olympic Games. Even though ATHOC's life had an expiration date, its structure, staff, and the overall culture followed modern procedures and leading-edge techniques.

ATHOC responded to the worldwide negative media reports with press releases and press conference statements.<sup>186</sup> For instance, the negativity of the international press regarding the low quality of transportation was confronted when ATHOC released the transportation plan for the Games. Once the Olympic Games began, some press reports criticized the low spectator turnout. ATHOC's response was quick, releasing data indicating that the organizing committee had reached ticket sales targets.

The above reference to communication efforts proves the essential contribution of mass media in constructing or defending nation branding and to some extent the PD of a country. However, the real support of Greece's image came directly from the gigantic effort of human capital, which managed in a really short period of time to organize one of the most successful Olympic Games until then. Indeed, the "smart" use of communication tools is not a panacea, and as Anholt says: "The image comes directly from reality; you cannot do alchemy with the image without changing the fact that it is

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<sup>185</sup> "Athens 2004 disqualified from the race for environmental excellence", Green Peace, July 28, 2008, <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/press/releases/athens-2004-disqualified-from/>.

<sup>186</sup> N. Linardopoulos, "The use of press releases, A case study of the Athens Olympic Games.", Drexel University, 2005, [http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal\\_Files/Issue3/Linardopoulos.pdf/](http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal_Files/Issue3/Linardopoulos.pdf/).

directly linked to, they are twins.” The impressive involvement of the volunteers enhances the argument about the human capital, and therefore it deserves a special mention. We read in an article<sup>187</sup> that:

... a big share of the success of the Olympic Games is owed to the 28.742 volunteers of Los Angeles, the 27.221 volunteers of Seoul, the 34.548 volunteers of Barcelona, the 60.422 volunteers of Atlanta, the 47.000 of Sydney and the unprecedented number of 160.000 volunteers for the games of Athens.

A reliable method of measuring the improvement or lack of improvement in Greece’s image abroad after the Olympic Games is the analysis of a large public survey conducted in five major countries (USA, UK, Spain, Germany, and France) on behalf of ATHOC. According to this survey, the majority of respondents felt positive about Greece and, thus, 38.7 percent of the Americans surveyed expressed their intention to visit Greece in the future, ranking Greece as the second most popular destination after Italy. The Olympic Games of Athens, as the survey showed, were characterized as successful by 90 percent of the Americans and 93 percent of the Europeans surveyed, while 40 percent of all respondents considered the Athens Games to be the best Games ever organized in the history of the modern Olympic Games.

At this point, and having the Olympic Games as a representative example, a short reference to “sports diplomacy” sheds an additional explanatory light to the topic of this essay. Andrei S. Markovits<sup>188</sup> notes that “Sports shape and stabilize social and even political identities around the globe.” Nelson Mandela, lauding the contribution of sports in politics, argues that:

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> “Motivation and volunteer participation in the “Athens 2004” Olympic Games”, Sport Management International Journal Choregia, 2006 Vol 2, issue 1–2 <http://www.choregia.org/224.pdf/>.

<sup>188</sup> A. Markovits and L. Rensmann, *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princetone University Press, 2010).

<sup>189</sup> “The power of sport “Should Sport and Diplomacy mix?”, The journal of Public Diplomacy, <http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/the-power-of-sport-should-sport-and-diplomacy-mix/>.

“Sport is a language every one of us can speak,” UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon said<sup>190</sup>, characterizing every significant sport event as a tool in a country’s PD. The notable examples of sports diplomacy are numerous and illustrate the effective contribution of sports in keeping the channels of communication open among states. The move by the International Olympic Committee IOC to withdraw the South Africa’s 1964 Summer Olympics invitation, the entrance of the first group of Americans into China for a series of ping-pong matches since the takeover of Communism in 1949, and Canada’s “hockey diplomacy” to help restore the country’s national pride are some of them.

The Olympic Games in Athens are categorized in the above-mentioned form of PD, sports diplomacy. The new “Greek identity” that emerged after the successful hosting was linked with the following: a “safe destination” and a “modern European country” that organized “technically excellent” Olympic Games with a “human dimension.” The Olympic Games provided a crucial contribution to the re-branding and re-positioning of Greece’s image. The “uniqueness of the event, which coincided with winning the European Football Cup Euro 2004 secured the “exclusive relocation” of Greece on the complex canvas of international perceptions and stereotypes<sup>191</sup>. The phrase used by the president of the organizing committee for “Athens 2004,” Gianna Angelopoulos-Daskalaki, was characteristic: “Greece is going to fire the world’s imagination,” welcoming people all over the world in the Greek capital.

Regarding the benefits and, in general, the impact of the Olympic Games in Greece’s economy, the existing literature provides an interesting article by Pricewaterhouse Coopers.<sup>192</sup> The article presents the tourist industry as the main financial benefit, in conjunction with the improvement of the related infrastructure, such

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<sup>190</sup> “The power of sport “Should Sport and Diplomacy mix?”, The journal of Public Diplomacy, <http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/the-power-of-sport-should-sport-and-diplomacy-mix/>.

<sup>191</sup> Extract from the speech of General Secretary of Information Panos Livadas in the Forum titled “Post-Olympic Greece. New opportunities for repositioning the country’s image in the international map,” Athens November 12, 2004.

<sup>192</sup> PricewaterhouseCoopers, “European Economic Outlook,” June 27, 2004, <http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~rosenl/sports%20Folder/>.



as hotels, public transportation, and level of services. On the other hand, the article expresses a number of speculations regarding the current financial crisis and whether this issue is directly related to the cost of hosting the Games.

However, in the political and psychological field, the benefits were unprecedented. It was one of the most effective symbolic opportunities for Greece to attract the world's attention. For fifteen days the small Greece was the center of the world. The promotional campaign was the biggest and the most complete Greece had ever implemented. According to Josh McCall, Greece's brand has gained a lot from her Olympic dialogue with the rest of the world.<sup>193</sup> According to NBC, which holds U.S. broadcast rights for the Athens Olympics, these were the most-watched non-U.S. opening ceremonies, with a 14.6 rating/27 household share.<sup>194</sup>

Athens sent another decisive message to the world. A small country, and thus market, is able to organize effectively a mega-scale event such as the Olympic Games. Athens became the real example for other small countries. Greece after the Olympic Games undoubtedly enhanced its image and increased its credibility as a modern country. The Greek people regained the self-confidence they had lost for decades, as they lived in a condition of national outbreaks and pride.

Greek scholars believe that the Olympic Games dissolved the syndrome of inferiority towards more developed countries and the people felt that they had achieved a large national objective<sup>195</sup>. In the foreign policy field, the award of the 28th Olympiad has given to Greece significant advantages, especially regarding its position issues and problems in its wider geographical region. The upgraded international role of Greece and the attention gained from the foreign public opinion increased its power and gave it prestige. During this period, numerous cultural events, concerts, and theatricals started

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<sup>193</sup> "Greece's brand Olympic opportunity proved solid", Branding Greece, September 19, 2004, <http://nation-branding.info/brandinggreece/greece-brand-opportunity/#more-26/>.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Athens, The Next Day of the Olympic Games (Magazine Development, No 10 October 2004).

taking place in the Balkan area, showing that the common aspects of the people are many more than the differences. The Olympic Games enhanced the leading role of Greece in the Balkans and contributed to resolving concerns and fears from the past.

Another significant benefit gained from the Games was the fact that Greece followed rules and tactics that characterize an effective PD in order to achieve better promotion of the national objectives. In other words, this event was the best application and exercise of PD for the country. Greece built trustful relations with foreign public opinion and international mass media. The Olympic Games Organizing Committee for “Athens 2004” became the central authority of PD and, in close collaboration with the competent departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, overcame obstacles, upgraded the nation’s image, and finally organized one of the most successful Olympic Games in modern times.

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## **V. GREEK FOREIGN POLICY AND PD IN THE BALKANS**

### **A. THE TOOLS OF GREEK PD**

The central authority of PD in Greece is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, more specifically, the Information and PD Department, operating under the aegis of the ministry. The department aims at designing and implementing information programs associated with government policy. In practice, there is an obvious organizational deficiency, due to the total lack of a comprehensive mechanism of PD.<sup>196</sup>

The second “tool” of PD is the General Secretariats of Communication and Information, which are totally linked to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The General Secretariat of Communication and the General Secretariat of Information provide the public with objective information, inform state and public-sector agencies about major international events, contribute to the enhancement of relations with the Greeks of diaspora, participate in the state’s policy-shaping, and pursue a more constant and vivid presence in the information and communication media<sup>197</sup>. The General Secretariat for Information oversees forty (40) Press and Communication Offices Abroad, which operate within the framework of Greek diplomatic missions as the principal information link between Greece and foreign media or other opinion leaders.

Given that cultural diplomacy as a tool of PD has the particular purpose to promote Greece's image through educational programs and events, the Ministry of Culture and the Greek Culture Foundation are also considered to be key players<sup>198</sup> in this field. Moreover, the cooperation between cultural institutions and the Press and Communication Offices Abroad is very important, due to the great attention that their communication activities receive by the local mass media. For instance, notable is the

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<sup>196</sup> Apostolos Papakonstantinou, *Constitutional Aspects of Greek Communicative Diplomacy*, (Athens: Sakoulas, 2005,) 62.

<sup>197</sup> Hellenic Republic Ministry of Interior, “The Secretariat General of Communication – Secretariat General of Information welcomes you to [www.minpress.gr](http://www.minpress.gr),” <http://www.minpress.gr/minpress/en/>.

<sup>198</sup> The Greek Cultural Foundation is a nonprofit organization that aims at supporting, presenting, and promoting classical and modern Greece, its language and culture throughout the world. (<http://www.greekculturefoundation.org/>).

engagement of the Greek Culture Foundation in promoting Greece in Southeast Europe by organizing concerts, exhibition of the Balkans' literature, and generally cultural events in the capitals of the Balkan countries.

In addition, the Ministry of Tourism is considered to be an equally important PD tool through the activities of the Greek Tourism Organization (EOT). Its contribution to the promotion of Greece's image as a friendly country, not only for vacations but for investments as well, deserves to be especially mentioned. Finally, another factor that obviously improves the reliability of the country is the cooperation among the Greek Foreign Ministry, NGOs, and academic institutions.<sup>199</sup>

## **B. THE PD FACTOR IN THE FORMATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF GREEK FOREIGN POLICY IN THE BALKANS**

There is a large body of literature that covers Greek foreign policy; however, our interest in this section is not the Greek foreign policy per se, but rather the way it is communicated. Thus, our primary intention is to shed light on whether, and, if yes, to what extent, the aspect of PD is integrated into the formulation of foreign policy, in other words, whether there is a PD strategy that supports the promotion of Greek foreign policy positions at an international scale and more specific in the Balkans.

The exploration of PD in conjunction with foreign policy is a rather demanding and complex task to start with. The integration of PD into the foreign policy agenda has already been mentioned in the Literature Review as a major topic. The construction of the current argument is based upon the assumption that PD must be fully orientated to

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<sup>199</sup> Significant are the activities and synergies organized by the Greek universities in order to improve the image of Greece in Southeastern Europe, for example, the Balkan Forum for Communication organized by the University of Athens and the cooperation between Greek universities and the universities of Southeast Europe through graduate programs aiming at promoting stability, human rights and sustainable peace in the region. Another important channel of promoting Greece's image is Eunomia, a project managed by the Greek Ombudsman. According to its official website, the Eunomia Project started officially in January 2001, and was funded through an extraordinary financial contribution by the Greek government to the General Directorate of Human Rights of the Council of Europe. The aim of the project is to contribute to the creation and medium-term support for newly founded mediation institutions in the countries of Southeastern Europe. ([http://www.synigoros.gr/eunomia/en\\_theprogramme.htm/](http://www.synigoros.gr/eunomia/en_theprogramme.htm/)).

foreign policy targets. “If policy opens the door, public diplomacy can step through it,” says Philip Seib<sup>200</sup>, supporting the idea that PD must support the perspectives of the foreign policy<sup>201</sup>.

Moreover, the analysis of this multifaceted issue will be limited to the period after the end of the Cold War. In particular, in the following paragraphs, the Greek foreign policy regarding the Balkans and the process of EU integration during the period 2000–2010 will be examined. This period is marked by the following aspects: Firstly, in Helsinki in December 1999, Greece changed its attitude towards Turkey by supporting the latter to receive EU candidate-state status. Secondly, in 2000, Greece signed the Interim Agreement with FYROM, thereby strengthening bilateral relations and yielding tangible results. Thirdly, this period refers to the governance of both Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and New Democracy, the two major political parties in Greece; and thus the argument will be presented through more objectivity, as the outcome is not the product of a policy adopted by one political party exclusively.

## **1. The Big Mistakes**

To begin with, Loukas Tsoukalis<sup>202</sup> claims in the conclusion of the book, *The Greek Paradox*, that “Greece finds itself in a very unstable neighbourhood”<sup>203</sup> after the collapse of the communist regimes in the Balkans and the end of the war in Bosnia. However, the country was armed by some very effective traits: The stability of its democratic institutions, the homogenous nature of its population, and its access to NATO and the EU. These conditions gave to Greece the advantages needed in order to play a key role in the international arena. It is the period when the international community seemed to have expectations for Greece and its role as a stabilizing factor. Moreover, Nye

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<sup>200</sup> Philip Seib is Professor of Journalism and Public Diplomacy, and Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California. He is also director of USC's Center on Public Diplomacy.

<sup>201</sup> Philip Seib, “Connecting Public Diplomacy and Policy”, Sep, 5, 2009, <http://www.layalina.tv/Publications/>.

<sup>202</sup> Loukas Tsoukalis is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration at the University of Athens and Professor and Director of the Economics Department at the College of Europe in Bruges.

<sup>203</sup> G. Alison and K. Nikolaidis, *The Greek Paradox*, (Harvard University, 1997), 170.

points out that “Greece constitutes a beacon of stability for the countries of the region. The Greek moment of opportunity has arrived,” inviting Greece in some way, he notes, to capitalize its soft power.<sup>204</sup>

Unfortunately, reality was far from expectations, and the actual events indicated that Greece’s political leadership and the country as an entity “were caught unprepared and unable to play an effective stabilizing role in the area.”<sup>205</sup> The pathology of Greek foreign policy led to this sense of fears and insecurity, points out Loukas Tsoukalis. “Thinking out of the box”—the main tactic in doing PD—was probably something unknown for to Greek diplomacy. In my perception, Greece in that period admittedly was a country surrounded by “difficult” neighbours, who may have easily turned into enemies. Greece could not overcome the fears from the past. Thus, searching for signs of the Greek PD in that period is a wild goose chase, and there were only some sporadic political movements, which can be regarded only as a tentative expression of soft power.

Nevertheless, the intention of Greece to achieve stabilization and peace was unwavering and clear. Very interestingly, this intention is illustrated by Dora Bakoyannis<sup>206</sup> in the following statement:

Greece is the oldest member of NATO and the European Union in the region. Consequently, we feel an increased sense of responsibility for our neighbourhood; there is the obligation to be constructive. We want to see stable states with economic development. We want to see states that promote the law and respect human rights. We want to see states that build effective institutions in which all citizens—regardless of religion and ethnicity—can place their confidence. There is no other way.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> . Alison and K. Nikolaidis, *The Greek Paradox*, (Harvard University, 1997), 148.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>206</sup> Dora Bakoyannis is former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, the highest position ever held by a woman in the Cabinet, and Chairperson-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. She was the Mayor of Athens from 2003 to 2006, the first female mayor in the city's history and the only elected female mayor of Athens so far, as well as the first woman to serve as mayor of a city hosting the Olympic Games. She also served as Minister for Culture of Greece from 1992 to 1993.

<sup>207</sup> C. Arvanitopoulos, K. Botsiou, *The Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Yearbook 2009*, (Springer-Verlag Heidelberg, 2009), 9.

## 2. The Big Changes

A significant change in the region occurred in 2002 when the EU summit meeting took place in Thessaloniki. Greece's presidency of the EU gave an unprecedented boost to the dream of the Balkan countries for EU integration as did the EU declaration of its commitment to expand to the Western Balkans. In April 2006 at the European Institute Conference, on the topic, *Greece's Aid and Investment Boost Balkan Economy and Stability*, Alexandros Mallias<sup>208</sup> pointed out: "This is a qualitative change from the lack of EU cohesion during the region's crises in the 1990s. Right now, all Balkan states without exception are eligible for EU membership. This is an historic moment."<sup>209</sup> Alexandros Mallias, continuing his speech, admitted that Greece was caught by surprise by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Through this speech, the ambassador declared that only the EU face of Greece could provide in the area credibility and alternatives for dissolving fears of the past and uncertainties. He said characteristically: "Greece has already recognized that its interests are better served by hoisting the EU flag than the national one."<sup>210</sup>

Thus, another critical moment of Greece's "soft power" in that period is its commitment to support the reconstruction of Balkan countries. Economic diplomacy, as a subcategory of PD, provides the potential in building strong relations of trust. Indeed, in 2002, Greece decided to launch a five-year development aid program called the Hellenic Plan for the Economic Reconstruction of the Balkans (HIPERB), worth \$670 million. Greece promoted the effort to build strong relations and sent an optimistic message to the area. The economic relations are still at a very high level and have given potential benefits to both sides. Dora Bakoyannis' comments illustrate these existing strong relations:<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Alexandros P. Mallias is the ambassador of the Hellenic Republic to the United States. He previously directed the Southeastern Europe department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was a national coordinator in the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe.

<sup>209</sup> Hellenic Republic, Embassy of Greece, "Greece's Aid and Investment Boost Balkan Economy and Stability," August 23, 2006, <http://www.greekembassy.org/Embassy/Content/en/>.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> C. Arvanitopoulos, K. Botsiou, *The Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Yearbook 2009*, (Springer-Verlag Heidelberg, 2009), 10.



For Greece, economic development is a necessary instrument for political stability. This is why my country has such a dynamic presence in the region. In conjunction with the overall excellent diplomatic relations we have cultivated with all countries of South Eastern Europe, we are at the forefront in terms of investment with nearly 20 billion dollars invested in the wider region. Thus, it has been calculated that over 200,000 new jobs have been created. Greece is the primary foreign investor in Albania, FYROM, and Serbia. It is the second foreign investor in Romania and third in Bulgaria. In the Banking sector only, nearly 1,300 branches of Greek banks operate in the region, already amounting to 20% of the market.

The crucial contribution to re-branding and re-positioning Greece's image came with the Olympic Games held in Athens in 2004. The "uniqueness of the event, which coincided with the conquest of the European Football Cup "Euro 2004," ensured the exclusive relocation of Greece in the complex canvas of international perceptions and stereotypes.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, this world event manifested the leading role of Greece in the Balkans and broadened communication channels.

### **3. The Post-Olympic Games Period**

In 2005, the signs of cultural diplomacy<sup>213</sup>—another crucial aspect of PD—between Greece and Turkey were significant. In the aftermath of the Olympic Games, the two countries organized numerous cultural events that highlighted an invitation of friendship and peace. Fani Petralia,<sup>214</sup> welcoming the participants of the 8<sup>th</sup> Greek-Turkish Business Conference in April 2005, stated:

There is a common goal; the deeper cultural rapprochement between the two nations that will promote the elimination of prejudice, negative stereotypes and myths. Having the knowledge that only culture can provide this, we will be able to address a more effective and successful

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<sup>212</sup> Extract from the speech of General Secretary of Information Panos Livadas in the Forum titled "Post-Olympic Greece. New opportunities for repositioning the country's image in the international map" Athens November 12, 2004.

<sup>213</sup> Cultural Diplomacy has been characterized by the U.S. Department of State as the linchpin of Public Diplomacy (Report of the Advisory Committee of Cultural Diplomacy-Sep 2005).

<sup>214</sup> Fani Palli-Petralia is a Greek politician. She has been repeatedly elected Member of Greek Parliament; she was Minister of Tourism for the period 2004–2007 and is an influential member of the International Olympic Movement.

policy. We have the obligation to set the relationship between the two countries as core of the peace and development process in the eastern Balkans and the Aegean Sea.<sup>215</sup>

In June 2006, the city of Thessaloniki became a significant crossroad between Greece and other Balkan countries. The 1<sup>st</sup> Balkan Performing Arts Market (BPAM), organized by the Hellenic Culture Organization, was the beginning of an inter-Balkan cultural axis,<sup>216</sup> aiming to create potential and open communication channels with the Balkan countries.

As aforementioned, an alternative path for lasting relationships is the support of and contribution to economic development. Additionally, regional cooperation was a key requirement set by the EU in the process of European integration, and Greece, admittedly, was the leading country for that policy. The Energy Community Treaty, signed in Athens in 2005, is a characteristic proof that Greece followed these commitments.

There is an important article in the *Bridge* magazine delivered by Dora Bakoyannis as a speech to the Exporter's Association of Northern Greece (SEVE) in May 2006. She presents the five aims<sup>217</sup> of the Greek foreign policy regarding the developing of strong relationships and the ensuring of security in the area, and concludes by emphasizing the successful model of diplomacy that Greece has decided to adopt since the '90s. More specifically, she refers to a model of diplomacy that combines both a political and an economic dimension and goes beyond the conventional version. Another

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<sup>215</sup> Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Press Releases and Announcements", 8th Greek-Turkish Business Conference, Athens, April 2005 , <http://www.yppo.gr/0/eindex.jsp/>.

<sup>216</sup> The Bridge Magazine, Rendez vous in Thessaloniki, [http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=37/](http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=37/).

<sup>217</sup> The five aims of Greece's economic diplomacy according to Bakoyiannis are: To promote and foster peace, stability, development, and prosperity in the region; to promote the establishment of major transport corridors linking the countries in the region; the creation of a single energy market; the creation of great energy axes which extend beyond the Balkans; to promote policies which will unify the Balkan economic area in multiple sectors. (The Bridge, "A successful model of diplomacy", <http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index/>).

interesting point of this article is the fact that Bakoyannis, maybe for first time, evaluates the outcomes of Greece's "soft power," admits mistakes, and sets some corrective actions, saying that:

A successful economic diplomacy is certainly no simple task. Ministries of foreign affairs must both readjust their *modus operandi* and expand their institutional capabilities in order to deal with the interconnected economic and sociopolitical challenges of today as well as those of tomorrow.

Seeking organizational changes in Greece's PD tools in 2008, we do not find any significant ones. Koumoutsakos, Spokesman of the Hellenic Ministry for Foreign Affairs, points out:

Currently, in the new organization chart of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, the Information and Communication Department has been renamed to Information and PD Department. Recently, we have organized important events as, for instance, inviting foreign speakers or ambassadors. Also, we have launched the initiative of organizing Ambassadors' Forum meetings where we give the chance to ambassadors of other countries to promote their nation's interests.<sup>218</sup>

Completing this attempt to present existing tools and specific movements of Greek PD regarding the neighboring countries, the 3<sup>rd</sup> annual Euro-Mediterranean Journalism Institute (EMJI), which took place October 2008 in Athens, cannot be excluded. EMJI was organized by the Greek Association for Atlantic and European Cooperation (GAAEC) and The Fund for American Studies (TFAS), under the auspices of the General Secretariat of Information, Greek Ministry of State. EMJI brought together approximately fifty working journalists and journalism students from more than two dozen countries in the Balkans/Mediterranean regions and around the world. The purpose of the conference was to provide the knowledge and skills needed to objectively report on a variety of international political, economic, and cultural issues. It was another proof for the meaning of media involvement in PD appliance.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> The Bridge Magazine, Rendez vous in Thessaloniki, [http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=37](http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=37).

<sup>219</sup> Greek Association for Atlantic and European Cooperation (G.A.A.E.C.), "3RD Euro-Mediterranean Journalism Institute, <http://www.gaaec.org/?q=node/407/>.

### C. GREEK NGOS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO BALKANS

Admittedly, another “face” of PD is considered to be the existence and the activities of NGOs, which can make significant contributions toward developing truthful and long-lasting relations among states. Greece’s contribution to economic development through NGOs deserves to be mentioned, as it projects the intention of a small country to pursue stability and security in its region. In addition to that, the presence of NGOs illustrates the increased contribution of citizens in politics.

Notable is the enhanced role of NGOs internationally. Currently, 10 to 15 percent of the total aid to developing countries is channeled through NGOs. International organizations, such as the EU, use NGOs to provide aid. In many cases, NGOs have covered needs that could not be covered by any government agency due to the lack of proper infrastructure or time limitations.<sup>220</sup>

In Greece, the status of NGOs was not vivid and active until the mid-90s, as there was no culture or related experience in providing humanitarian aid through independent citizens' initiatives. As a result, there was no legal framework to determine the legal status of NGOs.<sup>221</sup> The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe<sup>222</sup> was, for Greek NGOs, a significant change. The pact determined the new administrative role of NGOs, providing to them proper legitimacy in dealing with the funding side of humanitarian aid.<sup>223</sup> This evolution enforced the cooperation between the Greek government and NGOs. As a result, in 2000, a new department within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was

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<sup>220</sup> N. Lionarakis, “The NGOs in Greece”, Ependitis, February 28, 2005.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> It was an institution aimed at strengthening peace, democracy, human rights, and economy in the countries of South Eastern Europe from 1999–2008. The pact was created at the initiative of the European Union on June 10, 1999, in Cologne. All of the countries of the region, except for Serbia and Montenegro and Moldova, were present at the founding conference. Representatives of Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, Turkey, USA, all members of the EU at the time, OSCE, Council of Europe, and European Commission were also considered active participants. Representatives of Canada, Japan, UN, UNHCR, NATO, OECD, WEU, IMF, World Bank, European Investment Bank, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development were present as facilitators. (source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stability\\_Pact\\_for\\_South\\_Eastern\\_Europe/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stability_Pact_for_South_Eastern_Europe/)).

<sup>223</sup> K. Mavratzotou, “The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe”, Antivaro, March, 2005.

established. The International Development Cooperation<sup>224</sup> was tasked with the evaluation of humanitarian/development project proposals submitted by NGOs and other institutions and with monitoring their project implementations.<sup>225</sup> The new department opened the communication channels with NGOs and brought Greece into the forefront of the developments in the Balkans.

Moreover, the reference to some important Greek NGOs highlights the Greek contribution in the Balkans.

### **1. Center for European Constitutional Law (CECL)<sup>226</sup>**

CECL has successfully completed studies, research programs, and institutional know-how transfer programs in over 25 countries in the following geographical areas: Greece and the European Union, new member states of the European Union (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Poland, Romania, etc.), Southeastern Europe and Western Balkans, Middle East (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria), Commonwealth of Independent States (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Russia, etc.), Africa (South Africa, Sudan).<sup>227</sup> Some of the most important programs are the following:

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<sup>224</sup> The Hellenic development policy—the new strategy: Greece takes an active part in the international alliance against poverty and, from 2000 onwards, has grown into a bilateral donor country. Greek foreign policy has adapted itself to the new international process and, apart from the traditional notion of political diplomacy, nowadays relies on modern directions, namely, the ones of economic diplomacy and policy in international development cooperation and assistance. (<http://www.hellenicaid.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=7&clang=1/>).

<sup>225</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “General Competence of Hellenic Aid, <http://www.hellenicaid.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=13&clang=1/>.

<sup>226</sup> CECL: The Center for European Constitutional Law—Themistocles and Dimitris Foundation Tsatsos (K.E.S.D.) is one of the most active European (nonprofit) research institutes. Founder and first president was Prof. Dimitris I. Tsatsos (1933-2010). The Center seeks to contribute to the promotion of democratic institutions and the welfare state, the deepening of European integration and the strengthening of international cooperation with respect to the cultural specificities of each country. (<http://www.cecl2.gr/html/ent/466/ent.1466.1.asp/>).

<sup>227</sup> Center for European Constitutional Law, “Projects “Technical Assistance,” <http://www.cecl.gr/>.

*a. Training of Judges in Albania*

This program aimed to provide training to Albanian judges in specialized and critical issues at the European level. Simultaneously, the program covered the country's needs at the local level in issues such as high-level of immigration, countering the organized crime and corruption, etc.

*b. Support of Justice in Kosovo*

The aim of the project was the strengthening of the justice sector in Kosovo as an area of freedom, security, and justice. The program aimed at the establishment of the Ministry of Justice and other judicial institutions.

**2. Development and Education Centre of EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE (D.E.C.E.P.)**

It is a Greek nonprofit, nongovernmental, autonomous organization, active in the field of international development cooperation. The headquarters of the organization are in Athens. Its activities are promoted through the function of regional support offices in FYROM, Albania, Kosovo, Ecuador, Belize, and the Commonwealth of Dominica<sup>228</sup>.

Examples of the activities and programs performed by EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE are:

- Reconstruction of homes destroyed March 17–18, 2004, in Kosovo.
- Construction of infrastructure in Southern Albania.
- Reconstruction of homes in Pristine.
- Reconstruction of schools in Northern Albania.

**3. ARCTUROS**

It was founded in 1992 to protect the brown bear. Since then ARCTUROS has been actively working for the conservation of large carnivores both in Greece and around the Balkans. At the same time, it carries out Special Environmental Studies in areas of high ecological significance. One of the most important projects was the Balkan Net.

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<sup>228</sup> Development and Education Centre EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE (D.E.C.E.P.), About, <http://www.euopers.org/en/index.php/>.

This project ran from January 1997 to June 1998 and had a dual purpose: Firstly, it continued and widen the activities of an already established network between Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania for raising the awareness of sustainable nature conservation in Balkan areas hosting brown bear populations. Secondly, it included the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in its actions.<sup>229</sup>

#### **D. MEASURING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GREEK PD IN ITS CONTRIBUTION TO BALKAN ISSUES –OVERALL EVALUATION**

As aforementioned, measuring the effectiveness of a PD objective is not a clearly defined process. In other words, there is not a specific or safe method to evaluate the outcomes; and, thus, all the attempts for measuring PD objectives are addressed only through examining the results of related opinion polls. In our case, Greece has not proceeded to such an attempt. The current bibliography, also, does not provide recent data related to the perception that Balkan peoples have for the Greeks. Any reference to older data and Gallup polls will lead to misconceptions and wrong conclusions—every scholar of Balkan issues must take under consideration that nationalism and religious fanaticism are deeply rooted in the region and people very often are driven by their mind-sets.

Consequently, the question of whether Greek PD in the Balkans is effective or not will be answered through data from two perspectives. In my perception, they provide a relatively safe and objective method for evaluating Greek PD because they portray the existing political stability in the region. The first perspective is an overview of the current political status quo in the region; second is the perception that Balkan peoples have regarding major political issues, such as European integration and their political futures in the region. Regarding the latter, the provided data comes from the *Gallup Balkan Monitor*, which is an initiative of the *European Fund for the Balkans*;<sup>230</sup> it aims at

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<sup>229</sup> Arcturos, Initiatives, <http://www.arcturos.gr/en/initiatives/A.asp/>.

<sup>230</sup> The European Fund for the Balkans is a multi-year, joint initiative of European foundations, designed to undertake and support initiatives aimed at bringing the Western Balkans closer to the European Union through grant-giving and operational programmes and, as such, is focused on individuals and organisations from Western Balkan countries.(source: European Fund for the Balkans, “The Fund”, July 01, 2010, <http://www.balkanfund.org/component/content/article/1-latest-news/1-the-fund.html/>.

providing “all-encompassing data on people’s perceptions in the Western Balkans region, creating thereby a one-stop shop that delivers strategic insights based on evidence-based social research in the region.”<sup>231</sup>

## **1. Current Political Status Quo**

The current political environment in the Balkans shows that, even though since 2003 encouraging steps have occurred, the route to the Europeanization of the Balkans remains long and uneven. Historic events with a profound regional significance, such as NATO and EU accession of Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania, keep hopes alive. In 2005 the European Council also granted FYROM the status of a candidate country. The political message from the Europeans is clear: those countries which fulfill requirements must, and will, become EU members<sup>232</sup>. Greece has its own essential role in this progress, and that role has been presented by the aforementioned political and PD activities. Greece, functioning as an example to the other countries, definitely deserves being seen as having a stabilizing role in the region.

## **2. Insights and Perceptions: Voices of the Balkans<sup>233</sup>**

Taking under consideration the results of the latest *Balkan Monitor Poll* (2010), the major conclusion is that the vast majority of the citizens of Balkan democracies believe in the Church, the EU, and the UN, but “deeply distrust the institutions that govern them.”<sup>234</sup> In general, the consequences of the war are deeply rooted in citizens’ psychology. According to the survey, the Balkan societies appear mistrustful and

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<sup>231</sup> The European Fund for the Balkans is a multi-year, joint initiative of European foundations, designed to undertake and support initiatives aimed at bringing the Western Balkans closer to the European Union through grant-giving and operational programs and, as such, is focused on individuals and organizations from Western Balkan countries.(source: European Fund for the Balkans, “The Fund”, July 01, 2010, <http://www.balkanfund.org/component/content/article/1-latest-news/1-the-fund.html/>).

<sup>232</sup> C. Arvanitopoulos, K. Botsiou, The Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Yearbook 2009, (Springer-Verlag Heidelberg, 2009), 3.

<sup>233</sup> Gallup Balkan Monitor, “2010 Summary of Findings,” [http://www.balkan-monitor.eu/files/BalkanMonitor-2010\\_Summary\\_of\\_Findings.pdf/](http://www.balkan-monitor.eu/files/BalkanMonitor-2010_Summary_of_Findings.pdf/).

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 5.



pessimistic, having in their mind emigration as the only survival outlet.<sup>235</sup> The main findings of the survey and a short description of them, as well, are presented in the following lines:

- Life Satisfaction and Country Development: The results raise disappointment, as more than half of the respondents spoke about difficulties in managing their household's income. In Kosovo, for instance, the proportion of respondents with financial difficulties, compared to the 2009 survey, has risen by 19 percentage points to 54 percent<sup>236</sup>. Pessimism also is the dominating feeling regarding the future financial development in the region.
- Attitude towards the EU: The survey showed that the majority of the Balkan countries would vote in favor of accession to the EU (Serbia 63 percent, Albania 93 percent). The exception came from the Croats who voted against their country's accession (43 percent voted "No," 38 percent voted "Yes"). Also, the vast majority of the people believe that they would be welcomed by the Europeans, except for Serbia, where the percentage dropped from 53 percent to 41 percent.<sup>237</sup>
- Satisfaction and Trust in the Region's Institutions: The dominating feeling in this question was that corruption is widespread or deeply entrenched. The citizens were very suspicious of their governments, even though this survey revealed that citizens now were feeling more represented by the political parties than in 2009. Admittedly, this must be recorded as progress and a challenge for future improvement.
- Migration and Mobility: The survey showed that the migration option seemed to be a compulsory solution, even though in some of the countries the percentage of the citizens who were prone to see better opportunities abroad had decreased by 25 percentage points in Kosovo (to 48 percent) and by 12 points in Albania (to 52 percent).<sup>238</sup> The opposite occurred in Croatia and Montenegro.
- Ethnic Relations and the Future of the Region: "Most Balkan citizens did not anticipate another armed conflict in the region; proportions of those respondents holding this view varied between 62% in Serbia and 88% in Croatia,"<sup>239</sup> we read in the survey. Indeed, the citizens, having witnessed the atrocities of a civil war and the inhuman consequences of nationalism,

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<sup>235</sup> Gallup Balkan Monitor, "2010 Summary of Findings," [http://www.balkan-monitor.eu/files/BalkanMonitor-2010\\_Summary\\_of\\_Findings.pdf/](http://www.balkan-monitor.eu/files/BalkanMonitor-2010_Summary_of_Findings.pdf/).

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 9.

seemed to have excommunicated the possibility of a new cycle of conflicts. This is also a very hopeful message from the simple citizens to the EU for accelerating the accession processes.

Additionally, some other important conclusions of that survey, briefly presented, are the following:

- Fewer citizens needed to offer bribes in most countries.
- People still felt the effects of organized crime, but, with the exception of Albania, less often.
- Most countries do not see overall improvement regarding organized crime.
- In the question “most popular migration destinations,” only Albanians voted for Greece.
- There is support for stronger neighborly ties across the region.
- In the question, “Which EU member state is the biggest supporter of [COUNTRY]’s EU accession,” only Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina included Greece in their responses. And for the opposite question, “Which EU member state is most opposed to [COUNTRY]’s EU accession,” Albania, Kosovo, and FYROM included Greece in their responses. This is connected directly to the perception that the citizens of these countries have for Greece and raises a significant doubt regarding the effectiveness of Greek PD.

Attempting a general conclusion of the presented survey, we may note that the widespread rejection of war and the inclination toward EU, should be taken as signs of stability and promising prospects for future development in the Balkans, although the route to Europeanization remains long and uneven, as aforementioned.

To evaluate Greek PD overall and the question of Greek PD effectiveness in particular, we may juxtapose the reality and the model of PD as defined by theory; the degree to which they coincide could function as the guide for measuring success. Recalling theory, we have three essential elements that characterize the effective model: daily communication, strategic communication, and the development of lasting relationships. Unfortunately for Greek PD, even though it possesses some unique features, the reality shows deficiencies that make the whole concept rather problematic and far from the successful model.

## **E. MISTAKES AND WEAKNESSES OF GREEK PD**

According to Greek officials, the main problem of PD is the lack of a central authority, which should have been responsible for connecting and directing the several “voices” of PD. Imperative is the need for coordination of the disparate initiatives and activities, the management of the available resources, and the strategic planning. PD in Greece became a priority issue only after 2005. The function of PD has been shared between the Press and Communication Offices (PCOs) attached to Greek embassies and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This bipolarity created confusing responsibilities, overlapping of efforts, and, in general, a significant degree of pathology. As the Head of Press Counselor stated in an interview (Greek Embassy London, 2010), PD is dependent upon personal willingness and initiatives, and the overall function is characterized as a sum of random attempts<sup>240</sup>.

Another weak side is the total lack of dialogue among authorities on a systemic and permanent basis. “. . . the new PD demands a two-sided communication, which requires serious listening and suitable responses to messages from other nations,” Gilboa<sup>241</sup> pointed out in a forum about the New PD organized by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That means the absence of a creative dialogue isolates the local sources of PD and disconnects the communication form practices and lessons learned from other countries.

Gilboa, describing very briefly but very aptly the strong and the weak traits of Greece as a brand name, argues that the country has significant comparative advantages (a very high level of human development, a high level of democracy and press freedom, a good image as a travel destination, long history and established culture) to which greater emphasis should be given. Conversely, the country has some critical disadvantages, such

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<sup>240</sup> Elena Georgiadou, “The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a Transforming World,” Department of Politics and IR, Loughborough University, 14, <http://saopaulo2011.ipsa.org/sites/default/files/papers/paper-1097.pdf/>.

<sup>241</sup> Eytan Gilboa is Professor of International Communication and Director of the Center for International communication at Bar-Ilan University. He is also a Visiting Professor of Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California. He is one of the leading scholars in the world in the field of public diplomacy.

as corruption and poor competitiveness, that limit its tremendous dynamics. Analyzing the way that Greece is promoted abroad, Gilboa noted the lack of a central political message and lack of coordination among the various competent bodies of Greece's soft power. These remarks come as a supplement to the general thesis that the main problem is the absence of a central authority.

## **F. FINANCIAL CRISIS: AN IMPORTANT CHALLENGE FOR GREECE'S PD**

Admittedly, the current financial crisis marks a serious phase in modern Greek history and requires the mobilization of all the forces of Greek society. In my perception, it is high time for a serious self-criticism at every level. In this struggle, PD plays an exceptional role and must be ready for a rapid reaction. The beginning must be marked by a new PD campaign, which should emphasize the unique political traits that Greece has to present and must be proud of, such as the following:

- Greece is probably the only country that has a high level of human development in such a limited geographical area. Greece is politically, economically, and culturally a model country in the wider region of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.
- Greece, along with nine of twenty-five other European Union–member countries, participated in all the unifying processes (EMU, Schengen zone, defense consolidation policy). The strong political and institutional position of Greece in the EU system was the factor that allowed Greece to occupy the position of nonpermanent member in the UN Security Council (2005–2006).
- Greece is not the "center of the world," but it is a developed country with problems similar to other developed countries.

Also very interesting is a presentation delivered by Dot Kite<sup>242</sup> proposing, on a practical level, the following specific movements/solutions which, if adopted by Greek PD, would improve the nation brand abroad:

- Naming: It is the perfect moment for Greece to leave this name, which is, to some extent, "bankrupted" and to move forward with the brand name Hellas, which is more closely associated with the ancient times and the Hellenistic period.

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<sup>242</sup> Dot Kite is a dynamic consultancy with Head Quarters in Amsterdam.

- Transparency: It is exactly what a country in debt crisis and accused of lack of credibility needs. The world must be informed through tangible, accessible to the public, tools about the management of debt and how the funds are going to be used.
- Culture: History, culture, language, and heritage must remain the main exportable products. The young generations should know that the foundation of the so-called “Western Civilization” is Hellas and the Hellenistic period. Through cultural institutions, Greek PD should organize cultural events and festivals that combine the Hellenic heritage with Hellenic offerings in the modern times.<sup>243</sup>
- Gastronomy: The Mediterranean diet must be in the forefront of a challenging campaign.
- Made in Hellas: The creation of such a logo as a high standard of quality supports the image and the credibility of a country.

## **G. WHAT THE SCHOLARS OF PD SAY ABOUT GREECE’S DEBT**

An interesting Greek TV program dedicated to the crisis and its consequences/impact on Greece’s image featured Simon Anholt. When the interviewer voiced his speculation about the future of Greece, Anholt answered passionately:<sup>244</sup>

You can make plans not only for tomorrow and after tomorrow, but for the next millennium as well. Just think, what is Greece? What is its purpose? Where is the Greek’s genius that made the country known to the world? Once you decide who you are and agree on that vision, and then you are ready for your strategy.

PD is not a panacea, and, as Anholt says: “The image comes directly from the reality; you cannot do alchemy with the image without changing the fact that is directly linked, they are twins.”

As a matter of fact, trying to win the battle only with communication tricks is a serious mistake. But if the financial crisis was unavoidable, this should not be linked necessarily with the collapse of the country's image abroad; and PD can provide communication pathways in order for Greece to gain its lost confidence.

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<sup>243</sup> Dot Kite, “5 Things Greece should do,” Sep 12, 2010, <http://www.dotkite.eu/#/news/nation-branding-5-things-greece-should-do/>.

<sup>244</sup> International Communication Policy Forum, “Greece as Brand, August 10, 2010, <http://icp-forum.gr/wp/?tag=%CE%B7-%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%AC%CE%B4%CE%B1-%CF%89%CF%82-brand/>.

There are four golden rules in the case of Greece, according to Gavin Grant<sup>245</sup> of Burson–Marsteller.<sup>246</sup> Grant currently advises a country in a similar position as Greece. The four golden rules are: transparency, reliability, a clear plan, and natural consensus. He continues his interview by saying that he strongly believes that Greece through PD can provide its own sustainable argument. In particular, he speaks for a mature and well-structured campaign that will enhance Greece’s position, reminding the world public of the following: First, in the last fifteen years Greece has grown two to three times faster than the EU average. Second, Greece is a good “citizen” of the Union; and, although it benefited from the money that accrued to the country, at the same time it behaved responsibly, increasing the prosperity of its citizens. Third, today Greece is the number one tourist destination in Europe, with 16 million visitors; and it is the number one state in maritime fleet, having 18 percent of the world fleet under its control. All these, according to the expert, are great benefits for Europe as a whole.

## **H. PROPOSALS/SOLUTIONS FOR AN IMPROVED GREEK PD**

The Union of Greek Press Attachés (UGPA), having realized the problem and the imperative need for reforming the status of Greek PD, organized an International Communication Policy Forum in Athens<sup>247</sup> and submitted specific proposals regarding actions that must be taken:

First, the Union proposed the establishment of a Greek Strategic Committee that will manage and coordinate all PD issues as they emerged. This committee should be the central coordinator and the main consultant of the government. Amongst its primary responsibilities should be the strategic planning and the management of each effort and activity.

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<sup>245</sup> He joined Burson-Marsteller in November 1999 and from 2005, was made UK Chairman.

<sup>246</sup> Burson-Marsteller is a leading global public relations and public affairs firm.

<sup>247</sup> International Communication Policy Forum, “December 13, 2009, The Greek Public Diplomacy,” August 10, 2009, <http://icp-forum.gr/wp/?p=1725/>

Second, the international campaign should be supported by the publication of informational materials and regular-basis publications, such as newsletters, magazines, guides, and reference books.

Third and very significant is the creation of a foreign-language website managing archival and contemporary audiovisual material and databases (tourism, Greek products, culture, archeology, architecture, art, literature, cinema, theater, music, finance, shipping, personalities, culture, sports, and lifestyle).

Fourth, aiming for the establishment of lasting relationships, the UGPA proposed the organization of short-term training courses examining topics associated with communication, international relations, nation branding, etc. Moreover, supporting graduate studies in the field of mass media and allowing participation of foreign students would be the ideal promoter of Greek language and culture.

Finally, the UGPA identified the need for organization, in collaboration with other organizations, of tourist events (exhibitions, concerts, lectures, etc.) based on specific themes (e.g., Greek architecture, Greek shipping, Greek music, Greek literature, etc.), which can be easily transferred from one country to another. These events should be organized according to the communications policy and fine-tuned by region and country.

## **VI. CONCLUSIONS**

### **A. GENERAL**

Originally, the process of promoting states' interests was taking place only at the highest level and through negotiations held between governments. Today, rapid technological developments, the democratization of society, and the revolution of communications have altered the character of traditional diplomacy. Diplomacy should not be exercised through the "closed door" of the embassies, but should extend its communications activities, seeking the involvement and influence of foreign public opinion. Nowadays, this audience has a considerable dynamism which can influence the foreign governments.

Moreover, the public is now more informed and has become more cautious and suspicious vis-à-vis propaganda. In this context, the exercise of public diplomacy is crucial, as it supports the demand for credible information and contributes to creating relations of mutual trust with the audience. Therefore, PD is understood as a democratic, interactive process that has nothing to do with propaganda and falsification of reality.

Furthermore, the current political environment requires states to adopt modern marketing tools in order to compete as differentiated players in the huge and "noisy" world market. The power exercised by states has changed its "face" to a "softer" and "smarter" profile. At the same time, people are "smarter" due to the growth of communications technology and the widespread education. These conditions have transformed the task of persuasion and have made the influence of consciousness extremely difficult.

### **B. PD AS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL OF POLITICS**

The purpose of this research paper, as it was defined at the beginning, was to answer two questions; first, whether PD is an effective tool for doing politics; and, second, whether Greece, through its PD, can play a stabilizing role in the Balkans region. In the first part of the essay, the PDs of the USA, Finland, and Turkey were presented, as



these countries reveal specific aspects, weaknesses, and strengths. The brief analysis of them manifested PD's significant contribution and its evolution in world politics, especially in the post–Cold War era.

The essay also underlined the vital role of PD as a supporter of a successful foreign policy. Especially in the war against terrorism, PD can play a critical role combating misinformation, bringing people closer, explaining better their values and policies, and generally helping people to understand the world. Additionally, the fact that this significant role has been understood and adopted by governments is projected by the increasing funding of PD programs. For instance, in the 2000's government funding of U.S. PD was 15 percent higher than in the 1980s, when the figure was \$518<sup>248</sup>. Remarkable also is China's investment in PD; China has opened, since 2003, sixty cultural centers—the so-called “Confucius Centers”—hosted at universities across the USA.<sup>249</sup>

To sum up, the answer to the first question is affirmative, and the field that must be regarded as crucial is not only the valuable contribution of PD but the evolution of the new face of PD as well. Nye argues that: “The greater flexibility of nongovernmental organizations in using networks has given rise to what some call ‘the new public diplomacy’”<sup>250</sup> and continues by determining the key difference from the “old” PD as the building of relationships with civil-society actors in other countries and facilitating networks between nongovernmental parties at home and abroad.<sup>251</sup> This emphasis on the new PD face is completed by a brief summary of its characteristic key points.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> “Public Diplomacy: credibility for effectiveness,” *The New Diplomacy* 2010, March 27, 2010, <http://newdiplomacy2010e.blogspot.com/2010/03/public-diplomacy-credibility-for.html/>.

<sup>249</sup> Hele Dale, “China's Investment in Public Diplomacy,” *Explaining America*, April 9, 2010, <http://explainingamerica.com/2010/04/09/confucius-to-their-enemies-china%E2%80%99s-investment-in-public-diplomacy/>.

<sup>250</sup> J. Nye, “The New Public Diplomacy,” *Project Syndicate*, Feb 10, 2010, <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/nye79/English/>.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> Report on the Wilton Park Conference 1034, *Public Diplomacy: Moving From Policy to Practice*, 7–9 June 2010.

- New PD focuses on the audience.
- New PD aims at building long-term relations with target audiences.
- New PD demands close collaboration between the public, private, and academic sectors.
- Web 2.0 platforms are tools and not PD strategy.
- The evaluation of PD has equal value with the rest of the process.
- Actions are more valuable for a state than words.

### **C. GREECE, THROUGH PD, HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BE A STABILIZATION FACTOR IN THE BALKANS**

The new century found Greece playing a new role in its region. The changes in the political level were historic, rapid, and unexpected. The exploration of Greek foreign policy portrays two different “faces.” Greece, originally, presented a phobic reaction, denying the need to adjust to the new realities. In the aftermath of the war in Bosnia, Greece demonstrated a strict focus on the national issues of Skopje, Cyprus, and Turkey. This attitude, to some extent, demonized the Greek foreign policy, and, therefore, it was identified as the “negotiator of Greek boundaries and guard of Greek territorial integrity.”<sup>253</sup>

The Olympic Games in Athens in 2004 instilled a reformation in the perception of national interests, promoting “openness” and rejecting the character of the gatekeeper.<sup>254</sup> Greece formulated a comprehensive and cooperative approach. This contributed to a challenging perspective: the transformation of the Balkans into a larger European neighborhood. Athens undertook a series of diplomatic and humanitarian initiatives to restore regional peace and stability. These movements demonstrated political responsibility and maturity and established Greece as a trustworthy mediator.

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<sup>253</sup> The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a Transforming World Elena Georgiadou Department of Politics and IR, Loughborough University PHIR Loughborough University.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

The country, having been integrated into Europe and being a member of NATO and EMU, became a model for its northern neighbors. We read in the leaflet published by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs during its chairmanship of the South-East European Co-operation Process (SEECF):

Overall, Greek foreign policy horizons have expanded, and the country has developed a more active, and confident approach at a regional level. Indeed, Greece has all the potential to emerge as the leading stabilizer in the region of Southeastern Europe and, to a certain extent, is already playing this role in some fields.

The exploration of Greek PD recorded numerous activities and initiatives in terms of the parallel operations with the foreign policy in Balkans. Even though it has the potential and the basis for an effective performance, organizational problems diminish the efforts. The research illustrated the deficiencies and weaknesses, having as a main problem the lack of a central authority and the absence of a strategic plan. However, its overall performance cannot be ignored. The commonalities among the people and the cultures in the Balkans constitutes the “value added” in every effort and attempt of communication. Greek PD “speaks” the same cultural language as the Albanians, Serbs, Croats, and the others. They have similar problems and concerns about the future. Greek PD, without reaching a substantial level of effectiveness, finally broadened the communications channels and for that deserves a fair portion of recognition.

#### **D. PROPOSED MODEL OF PD FOR SMALL-SIZED COUNTRIES**

The final task set by this essay is to propose a model of PD applicable to small-sized countries. The obvious question is why we are distinguishing small-sized countries from big ones. A logical explanation is related to the differences that exist between them. Therefore, a brief reference, in the Literature Review to the PD of small-sized countries was made to add more credibility to the proposed model by better explaining its particular traits, which emanate precisely from these differences.

##### **1. The Ideal Model of a Small-sized Country’s PD**

The ideal model would result from the combination of the strong and weak aspects of PD in the countries that were presented in the current research paper. In

addition, a supplementary guide would be the theory of PD and, in particular, the examination of the characteristics of an effective PD. The outcome aims to be applicable and to attract the reader's interest.

To begin with, an effective PD model of a small-sized country must have the following characteristics:

- Central authority: It is a vital aspect as it ensures the convergence of the available resources and the maximum level of cooperation.
- Comprehensive PD strategy: The governments must ensure that information priorities are clear, messages are consistent, and resources are used effectively.
- Strategic communication: The broadcasted message must be consistent, truthful, credible, reliable, and accurate. In addition, it must contain simple themes and must be addressed through well-structured campaigns.
- Dialogue: The government must establish a two-way, reliable dialogue with the public. The dialogue should contain both speaking and listening. The communication must be on a daily basis, explaining the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions.
- Use of media and Internet: A specialized PD agency should supervise the use of electronic media, resources, and especially the social network platforms such as FaceBook and Twitter. In addition, a foreign-language website managing archival and contemporary audiovisual material and database must be added to this effort.
- Targeted campaigns: The government must develop PD efforts focused on specific countries/stakeholders. The developed program must be structured, taking into account the exclusive specifications of each country (culture, language, religion, politics, and problems). Each program must include an analysis of the operational environment, the status of the nation brand, definitions of objectives, key messages, target groups, tools, and, ultimately, an action plan.
- Long-lasting relationships: These are an imperative prerequisite for a truthful PD policy as it portrays an honest and reliable relation with the public. This can be achieved through the organization of training courses examining topics associated with communication, international relations, nation branding, etc. Moreover, the support of graduate studies in the field of mass media, allowing the participation of foreign students, would be the ideal promoter of the country's language and culture. These programs

develop what the American journalist Edward R. Murrow once called the crucial “last three feet”—face-to-face communications, with the enhanced credibility that reciprocity creates.<sup>255</sup>

- Democratic profile: Last but not least, the democratic profile is a core aspect of an effective PD model. The proper function of the regime and the devotional respect of core values, such as democracy, human rights, and rights of self-determination, enhance the country’s image and galvanize a mature PD policy.

## **E. EPILOGUE/THE FUTURE OF PD**

PD is inextricably bound with the new media of communication. Internet capabilities constitute the first pillar of its future. Internet offers an open window of information to everyone, despite distance, culture, or language. The new platforms of social networking provide the nonnegotiable right of expressing one’s personal opinion to the majority of the thinking citizens. Obviously, Internet capabilities should not be exploited by PD merely for advertising purposes. This relationship must be an honest proposal for mutual understanding and cooperation.

The second pillar is education. It is the safest pathway for developing aware citizens, less parochial and more sensitive to foreign perceptions.<sup>256</sup> Extreme exceptionalism or elitism are attitudes that create severe risks to a nation’s future, as they create obstacles in understanding the others. Through proper education, people become more aware of cultural differences. Consequently, education softens these misunderstandings and supports a modern and effective PD.

Ending this attempt, I would like to cite an excerpt from Nye’s article about the future of PD, making the wish that this paper dealt with the term as respectfully as the core value itself deserves:

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<sup>255</sup> J. Nye, “The New Public Diplomacy,” Project Syndicate, Feb 10, 2010, <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/nye79/English/>.

<sup>256</sup> J Nye, *Soft Power*, 125.

Foreign policy is not just military. If you neglect people to people contacts and other ways of jointly reaching common goals, you set yourself up for failure in the long run. Getting that balancing act right over time is essential. Power is not just power over others, it is power with others.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Alan Heil, “Power is not just power over others, it is power with others,” Public Diplomacy Council, <http://publicdiplomacycouncil.org/commentaries/%E2%80%9Cpower-not-just-power-over-others-it-power-others-not-just-power-over-others-it-power-o/>.

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